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College and School News

At the closing of the SHAW UNIVERSITY summer school in August, thirty-one candidates were awarded degrees. Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, president of the Cheyney Teachers College, delivered the commencement address.

Bachelor of arts degrees were awarded to the following: Joseph C. Saint-Fort, one of four Haitian students studying at the college; Priscilla M. Alston, Laura J. Foster, Alma H. Glenn, Eva L. Beasley, Johnnie K. Boatwright, Thomas L. Bynum, Nannie H. Martin, Marie J. Childs, Rosa L. Davis, Pearlie L. Durham, Harriet A. Gill, Mildred T. James, Willie H. Morton, Ada M. Ruffin, Mary L. H. Heartley, Nonie M. Jones, Leslie R. Hudson, Leila M. Hunt, Gladys C. Laws, Edith L. McClain, Eva P. Wiley, Minnie A. Martin, Irene Miller, Martha L. Parker, Lula W. Reeves, Mary E. H. Sherrod, Hudie R. Sills, Maggie L. Southerland, and Calvin L. Rogers. A bachelor of science degree was awarded to Rebecca J. Faribault.

Beginning September 15 the college will offer a special extension training program for rural ministers and church workers. The new program is designed to acquaint rural church leaders with recent trends in rural church-community service expansions, and is being offered through the cooperation of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Home Mission Council of North America. A phase of the program of the college department of religious promotion, the program will be offered to ministers and workers of all denominations.

Directors of the new program is Reverend Moses N. DeLaney, former director of religious extension at Arkansas A. M. & N. College. Rev. Delaney is a graduate of Morehouse and the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School.

Recent additions to the faculty of WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE are Dr. J. J. Mark, who replaces retiring professor Austin W. Curtis, Sr., director of agriculture; and Dr. Charles C. Hawkins, former research associate in the New York University Center for Safety Education.

Dr. Mark received his B. S. degree in agriculture from Prairie View State College in 1929, and his M. S. and Ph. D. degrees in agriculture from Iowa State College in argonomy and plant physiology in 1931 and 1935 respectively. He has taught at Kentucky State College, and comes to West Virginia directly from the department of agriculture of Tennessee A. & I. College in Nashville, Tennessee.

Dr. Hawkins is a graduate of Morehouse and received his M. S. from the Springfield, Mass., YMCA College of Physical Edu-

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cation and a Ph. D. in safety education from New York University.

Dr. Hawkins is one of the three associate authors of *Careers in Safety*, published by Funk & Wagnalls in 1945.

Three members of the college faculty have been retired. Citations in honor of their record have been awarded to Austin Wingate Curtis, Sr., director of agriculture, with rank of professor emeritus; to Joseph Winslow Lovette, teacher of masonry; and to Rollins Walter James, teacher of vocational agriculture, with rank of emeritus.

Summer session of the college ended August 17 with the summer convocation. Convocation speaker was William O. Armstrong, principal of the Dunbar high school, Fairmont, West Virginia. Other speakers on the program were Dr. Paul Moore of Columbia, who spoke on the opportunity of the land grant college; and Dr. I. J. K. Wells, state supervisor of Negro schools.

President John W. Davis conferred the following degrees: bachelor of science in business administration: Eunice James; bachelor of arts in education: Laurine Alston, Ella T. Anderson, Ruth K. Clark, Hazel Jefferson Dabney, Lois C. Dykes, Alliene R. Fortune, Versa W. Hamilton, Myrtle R. Hunter, Johnnie B. Jefferson, Nannie A. Leech, Arlelia Page, Betty E. Peterson, Alice M. Price, Edna I. Robinson, Eva F. Taylor, Josephine H. White; bachelor of science in education: Thelma Allen, Theda Hill, Charlotte E. Moore, Margaret E. Rollins, Dorothy D. Simmons; bachelor of science in home economics: Victoria Allen, Edith Constance Davis, Joana Gatewood, Doris Goldsby, Violette D. Grier, Nella Harris, Jessie Long, Elaine Newman, Ernestine Sawyers, Luella Sawyers, Helen Seawright, Betty Jo Swann, Kathryn R. Tibbs; bachelor of science in mechanic arts: Fitzhugh Houston; bachelor of music: Council H. Dixson, Olivia M. Ferguson, Stella Fletcher.

The Canning Center at the institute, conducted by the college, announced the canning in August of 959 quarts of beans, 41 quarts of peaches, and 6 quarts of chickens. Miss Eleanor B. Collins was director of the center.

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE registrar, Edward N. Wilson, reports an unprecedented number of applications for admissions. If the college could have accepted all applicants who met the entrance requirements, it would have had over 400 freshmen for the first semester, which began September 18.

The announcement of Governor Herbert R. O'Conor of the approval of new construction projects totaling $1,524,000 to meet the anticipated increase in student enrollment was

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good news. Under the expansion program authorized by the Board of Public Works, a group of projects totaling $1,012,000, and including three new dormitories, a gymnasium, and dining hall, will be started as soon as possible. Two of the three proposed dormitories will be for women. A second group of buildings, including a classroom building, auditorium, and staff residence, at a cost of $512,000, will be held up until bond issue proceeds become available.

Recent appointments to the faculty and staff at HAMPTON INSTITUTE include Dr. Herbert F. Mells, for the past ten years professor of music and director of the music department at Langston, as professor of music and conductor of the choir; Miss Leon D. Wilkins, recent recipient of a master of music degree from Michigan, as instructor on the music staff; Winifred R. Harris, previously on the faculty of Limestone College, Gaffney, S. C., as associate professor of accounting; James H. Wilson, formerly head of the printing department at Florida A. & M., as instructor in printing; Reginald A. Jackson, former teacher and electrical contractor, as instructor in electricity; Henry L. Livas, formerly director of mechanical arts at Arkansas A. M. & N. College, as teacher of physics and associate senior instructor in drafting; and Isaac Ridley, former instructor in the U. S. Naval Training School at Hampton, as teacher of electricity and technical assistant in the Communications Center.

Three instructors of physical education for women have also been appointed to the instructional staff: Miss Virginia M. Dennis, formerly on the staff of the Maryland State Teachers College; Mrs. Catherine J. Lane, who also taught at the same college; and Miss Esther J. Dyson, former teacher of physical education in the county schools of Fairmount Hights, Maryland.

Miss Gwendolyn Reddy and Mrs. Lula White Johnson have joined the staff as substitute instructors in English. Other new appointees include Miss Samel'a Sanders, as instructor in art; Clyde E. Miller, who will assist in the pre-school department; and Mrs. Virginia Brown Irvine, who will be an assistant in the Co'lis P. Huntington Library.

Miss Sara M. Liston, who graduated from Hampton in 1944, and who during the past year was a graduate assistant at the University of Connecticut, has been appointed to a full-time position as research assistant in nutrition at the university.

The institute's fifth summer convocation was held August 22, at which time master of arts degrees were conferred upon twenty-one candidates, the largest group of students ever to complete requirements for the master's degree at Hampton. Sixty graduates received the bachelor of science degree, fifteen of them with honors. A gift of $155, to be used in furthering the "Arts of the Theatre" festival instituted at the college this summer, was

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presented to the school by James Henry Argrett of Jacksonville, Florida, president of the graduating class. Dr. Ambrose Caliver, senior specialist in the U. S. Office of Education, delivered the address.

The Alumni Hall building fund at MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE has now passed the $75,000 mark. Funds for Alumni Hall, a combined dormitory and recreation building to be erected at the corner of 21st Avenue N and Meharry Boulevard, are being solicited from the graduates of Meharry. Begun in January of this year, the campaign is scheduled to be completed before 1947.

Highest individual contribution to date, $2,100, has been made by Dr. J. W. Anderson of Dallas, Texas, who gave the Anderson Anatomical Hall on the old south campus. Another contributor in the thousand dollar class is Dr. Martin Luther Walton of Thomasville, Georgia. Donors of $500 may dedicate a room in the building.

Dr. Murray C. Brown, director of medical education in the college, is making a tour of inspection of several medical schools in the North and the East on a travel grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Dr. E. I. Robinson of Los Angeles, California, president of the National Medical Association, visited the college in August and spoke to the medical students. Purpose of his visit was to organize a Meharry chapter of the Junior National Medical Association. A temporary organization was formed with the following officers: Nolan Anderson, president; Gwendolyn Davis, secretary, and James Hogan, treasurer. A committee to draft a constitution, composed of the presidents and vice-presidents of each class, was appointed. Purpose of the junior chapters of the NMA is to establish early contact with the parent organization and to keep a constant infusion of new blood from the two medical schools, Meharry and Howard.

Mrs. Josephine Lane, 1942-graduate of the ATLANTA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK, has been appointed as a case worker with the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare of Chicago, Illinois. Mrs. Lane is a native of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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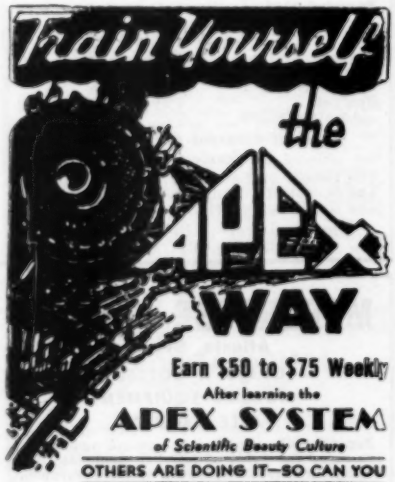

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Howard University held its seventy-seventh annual commencement, summer convocation, September 7 on the university campus Eighty-two candidates for graduation in medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy heard the commencement address by Dr. Peter Marshall Murray of New York City, chairman of the committee on the School of Medicine of the Board of Trustees of Howard.

The following received various degrees:

Doctor of Medicine: Samuel Kermit Ashby, Alwin Spencer Barefield, Oner B. Barker, II, Andrew Harrell Bass, Silas Odell Binns, Albert James Bloom, Wirrion Lamar Bomar, Robert William Briggs, William Andrew Brown, Jr., Charles David Bull, John Winston Camps, Simon Henry Carter, Jr., Kenneth Witcher Clement, Griffin L. Cooper, Jr., Nathaniel Hawthorne Copeland, Ethelene Crockett, James Fredric Cunningham, William Emery Cunningham, Jr., James Gersham Dasent, Jr., Arthur Turner Davidson, James Dean Davis, T. Wilkins Davis, Thomas Linwood Day, Erman Wilfred Edgecombe, Beverly Graves, Jr., James Virgil Hackney, Jr., Noah Alan Harris, William Lynwood Harrison, Gerald Clayton Hackell, Stanley Hughes, Francis LaFenus Hutchins, Sr., Charles Southward Ireland, Reginald C. Jackson, John Preston Jenkins, James Solomon Johnson, Jr., Bernard Kapiloff, John Andrew Jenney, Jr., William Charles Kilpatrick, Jr., Edwin R. King, Daniel Lee, Willis A. Madden, John Francis Marshall, Catherine McKee, Herbert V. McKnight, Raymond Rivera Morales, William Godfrey Pogue, Frederick Russell Randall, Raimundo Whitfield Rodriquez, Ursula Mae Selâfford, O'Donald Herschel Sheppard, Percival Carlton Smith, John L. Waters, Everett George Weir, Warren Seymour Wilkins, Delford George Williams, Jr., Joshua Sloan Williams, Jr.

Doctor of Dental Surgery: Andrew Arthur Allen, Welborne Styles Atwood, Augustus Theodore Capers, Standhope Justice Dolton, Jean Canty Downing, Michael Stuartson Francis, Flavius Abele Galiber, Frederick Douglass Gordon, William Fox Hall, Jr., Woodson Henry Hopewell, Frederick Warfield James, Mordecai Wyatt Johnson, Jr., Joseph Mack, Matthew Mitchell, Sr., Marcus Weldon Moore, William Hearn Myers, Richard T. Nelson, Jr., Richard Otagaki, William Sedgewick Pleasants, Moses Alexander Ray, Julius Caesar Ringling, Ruselle W. Robinson, George Pearson Smith, Corey Wilson Sparks, Paul Alfred Stephens, Wilton Lawson Stone, John R. Taylor.

Bachelor of Science in Phamacy: George Alexander Moorehead, Jr.

Summer sessions at the Florida Normal and Industrial College closed August 2[illegible], with secretary-treasurer of the Florida Baptist Convention deliverying the address.

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A Record of the Darker Races

Editor: ROY WILKINS
Editorial Advisory Board: Lewis S. Gannett, Arthur B. Spingarn, Sterling A. Brown, William Allen Neilson, Walter White, Carl Murphy, John Hammond.

Vol. 52, No. 10 **Whole Number 418**

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COVER

Miss Muriel Burrell Smith was the singing star of the Broadway hit, "Carmen Jones." As "Carmen" she earned an enviable position for herself as singer and actress. Miss Smith is a serious, studious young woman, who is now pursuing her education at the University of Chicago. Of "Carmen Jones" she said: "We will understand that 'Carmen Jones' is the Emancipation Proclamation of our people in the theatre." Richmond Barthé, the well-known sculptor, is doing a bronze figure of Miss Smith.

NEXT MONTH

The Crisis **plans to carry an article by Thelma Thurston Gorham on the burning question of the relocation of the Nisei on the West Coast. Much of the Japanese-vacated property was occupied by Negroes after the removal of the Japanese. What is happening now that the Nisei are returning is the subject of Mrs. Gorham's article. There will also be articles on other timely subjects, and Miss Ann Petry promises us another one of her brilliant short stories.**

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Mercer Cook, who translates Mangones letter on page 285, was supervisor of the English-Teaching Project in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. He is now in this country. "Race and Race" was translated by James W. Ivy. Dr. Reid E. Jackson teaches at Southern University. Ernest E. Johnson is Washington chief of the Associated Negro Press. George Padmore lives in London. He is a prolific writer for English, American, Mexican, and other journals. An expert on colonial problems, he is the author of *How Britain Rules Africa*. Miss Octavia B. Wynbush lives in Kansas City, Missouri.

Editorials

No. 1 Problem: Jobs

WITH Negro Americans as with other citizens, the No. 1 problem of the moment is employment. The chances of our people receiving a fair share of the jobs which will be available do not appear so bright as the nation ends the second month since Japan surrendered.

The government, with the exception of President Truman, seems to have turned a cold shoulder to legislation for a permanent FEPC. The Republicans are reported in a late poll as being 90 per cent in opposition to this bill. In this they are running true to form, for they have never given it support, either in Washington, or in the various state legislatures where state FEPC bills have been introduced. The Dixie Democrats and the conservatives in that party from elsewhere in the nation are opposed to the idea, and are making no secret of their bitter difference with the Chief Executive.

Meanwhile, some indication of what may be expected from private employers can be seen in the scattered, but ominous reports that firms have asked the United States Employment Service to send "whites only." In some cases, the requisitions have been for "white gentile only."

Although the Full Employment bill has had wide endorsement, Senate conservatives, led by our "friend" Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican of Ohio, are doing everything they can to change and weaken it.

This is the picture confronting the returning Negro veterans and the home front Negro workers who are being dismissed from wartime employment by the thousands. Negroes understand that reconversion will take time. They know all the real difficulties involved. What they want to know is that when the kinks are ironed out there will be no discrimination in employment in peacetime industry, and that if jobs are available, Negroes will not be turned away because of their color.

In some fashion this point must be made plain to the powers-that-be in Washington and among industrialists. In Washington our duty is clear: we must fight harder than ever for the passage of the permanent FEPC bill. Every congressman, every senator, must feel the pressure of a people united in the fight. Also—and most important—every state chairman of both parties, every county, ward and district leader must also learn how Negro voters feel. They must be told that the voters will decide their choices in the 1946 election on the basis of party *action*, not talk, on FEPC. It is not too much to say that the Presidential election of 1948, so far as the Negro is concerned, may hinge upon action on FEPC.

With industrialists, citizens committees, representing a cross-section of the community, might well seek personal interviews and point out the dangers of discrimination against a section of the population. Denial of jobs to Negroes, purely on the basis of race, is certain to result in increased crime, disease, juvenile delinquency, bitterness, friction, violence, and probably riots. These items are costly to any community, and many industrial leaders will listen and act.

Now is the time for a hard, smart fight.

The Courageous Truth

STEPPING in where angels have feared to tread, Dan Burley, colorful sports and theatrical writer of the New York *Amsterdam News*, devoted one of his recent columns to the conduct of Negro fans at baseball games between Negro teams.

His essay takes the fans severely to task for their loud talk, their profane and obscene remarks, their insulting manners, their disregard for the welfare of others, their drinking and their fighting. Regretfully and sorrowfully he charges that Negro women fans are worse than the men. Specifically he charges that their profanity and obscenity surpasses that of the male, and describes his nausea at the string of foul words that pour forth on the slightset provocation from the lips of some women at ball games. He warns that this conduct will ruin the game by driving away paying customers, and may cause Negro teams to be denied the use of first class ball parks.

It is time someone spoke plainly on this subject, for every reader of Mr. Burley's paragraphs who has attended a game will recognize that he speaks the truth. The conduct of too many fans is disgraceful and disgusting. It is long past the time when we should recognize that while we are demanding our "rights" we also have an obligation to act like adults, respecting ourselves and those about us. No one is going to treat us as citizens as long as we act like bad boys and nasty girls.

8th War Loan

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Hastie Passed Over

IT IS to be regretted that President Truman passed over Judge Williams H. Hastie in making his recent numerous appointments to the Federal bench. Judge Hastie had been endorsed by the National Lawyers Guild and other groups for one of the vacancies on the District of Columbia Circuit Court of Appeals. No one denied his excellent qualifications for the position.

It seems that Judge Hastie lost out because he has no record of having worked in the ranks of the Democratic party. It is reported that Chairman Robert Hannegan and his leading Negro Democratic adviser intend to hand out appointments strictly on a party basis. Mr. Hannegan is a very regular party politician and in his native St. Louis is known as a ward politician. His adviser is likewise a party machine man.

With all due respect for party regularity, and for the generally sound principle of rewarding the faithful, it should be pointed out that the position of the Democratic party is such, and the temper and strategic position of the Negro voter is such, that some unregimented imagination and thinking are indicated, of a kind not usually found in the mind of the typical machine politician.

The problem of the Democrats, as we see it, is not to hold the genuinely Democratic Negro voter, but to hold the vast body of Roosevelt Negro voters. It is this loose group, angered by the Bilbos (and unable to reach them except by punishing the party) and disheartened by Mr. Truman's long list of appointees from Dixie, which would have been reassured by the Hastie appointment.

This kind of thinking and strategy, apparently, is beyond Chairman Hannegan and his adviser. Between this sort of thing and pussyfooting on FEPC, Mr. H. may be counting the short end of electoral votes in 1948. It is reported that President Truman wanted to name Hastie, but finally gave in to his "party" thinkers. Mr. Truman might do well to act on his own before it is too late.

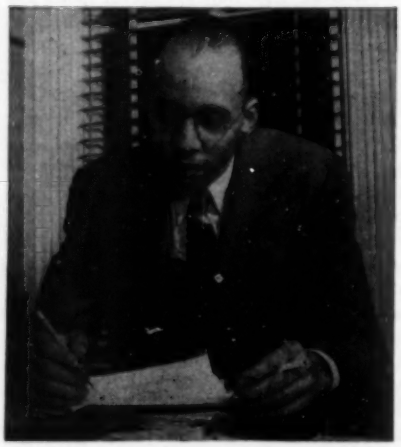
Lesson for America

THE white Boston domestic servant who left her savings to aid the churches and charitable institutions of all races, colors, and religions gave America a lesson in Americanism. Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and Negroes were remembered by her "to show I believe in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man."

Reconversion: America's No. One Problem

By Ernest E. Johnson

What can the Negro expect in the way of employment after V-J Day? Can he retain his industrial gains? This article poses the problem with suggestive answers



Ernest E. Johnson

WASHINGTON, official and otherwise, is in agreement on at least one point with regard to the changeover to peacetime pursuits: There is going to be a lot of looking down before there'll be much looking up.

Mindful of this, every agency of government is bending its energies to the single task of easing the switch from a war economy to one that admittedly will be a new normal for peace.

To say that the Negro is a part of the American commonweal and let it go at that is not sufficient. It is true that he will suffer the same privations as all other Americans—but the probability is that the degree will be greater. The millenium has not yet arrived nor is it just around the corner for this minority. Victory on the battlefronts over the forces opposed to democracy—call it Fascism if you will—has not brought with it a comparable victory over those who would return to the status quo. It is extremely doubtful that America, to any appreciable extent, has learned the lesson.

Where do we go from here is therefore a sensible question if, of course, you are aware that, no matter what the answer, you are already in the process of *going*. When the war stopped suddenly, the task immediately began of unwinding the machinery. There was no pause for stock-taking or breath-catching. There was no moment for "calm" appraisal of the future. Movement was and is continuous.

No spectre stares this Nation in the face more than that of unemployment. Negroes perhaps cringe a little more at the thought. What comfort, then, could be taken in the Snyder report[1] made to President Truman the day following the Japanese surrender which said:

"Our Nation will undergo the shock of considerable, but temporary unemployment . . . currently estimated at 1,100,000 persons . . . expected to rise to 5,000,000 or more within three months (by mid-November); perhaps to 8,000,000 before next spring, as those released from war jobs are joined by large number of men (7 million) discharged from the armed services."

Unemployment Spectre

Less than 10 days after the report, the Bendix Aircraft plant at Philadelphia laid off 3,000 workers. Of these 275 Negroes it had in its employ, 12 were retained—in custodial jobs.[2]

Simultaneously, reports reaching Washington officialdom told of want ads again appearing in papers and calling for "gentiles" to fill new job openings, and the appearance of such signs as "whites only need apply."[3]

In short, the old order of scarcity of jobs plus job discrimination was back in a twinkling. Not only had the wartime picture changed but reconversion in terms of business malpractices was rapidly taking shape ahead of business itself in spite of a national policy opposed to job discrimination.[4]

The size of the task ahead can be viewed only in light of the situation as it existed before America's entry into the war. The total labor force in 1940[5] numbered 52,789,000 and was made up of 5,620,000 non-whites, or some 9.4 percent. There was then a total unemployment load of 7,623,000. Employed Negroes represented 9.7 percent of all employed workers and 8.03 percent of the unemployed workers. The heaviest concentration of Negroes was in the fields of domestic service and farming. Manufacturing industries took the following order: tobacco, lumber and furniture, chemicals, shipbuilding, iron and steel and food processing.

The boom in defense work began and as the pressure of war increased so did the demand for greater manpower expand. Women, Negroes and handicapped workers[6] were all added to the growing labor force, and in addition, workers were imported from Mexico, Honduras and the British West Indies[7] to meet needs in agriculture and some industrial pursuits.

The Nation had a high level of employment in November, 1944.[8] At that time 51,530,000 persons were employed. Negroes numbered 6,219,000 or 12.1 percent. More than a million new Negro workers were found in the four years previous.

More than half of these workers were still in domestic service, but of the balance, the greatest proportion was in manufacturing industries, primarily munitions, some 726,000. In this group were shipbuilders, basic iron and steel workers, non-ferrous metal workers, ordnance and accessories, and rubber workers, in that order. The other 536,000 manufacturing workers were in 13 other classifications.[9]

Government employment during the war years has been a real charm to many Negroes.[10] Nationally, Negroes were less than 10 percent in 1938, but today are about 12 percent of those on the federal payroll. It is estimated that in Washington in 1938 there were but 8.4 percent Negroes working for the government, mostly in menial type jobs. In March 1944, 19.2 percent Negroes, largely wartime appointments, were doing their stint for Uncle Sam in a new assortment of jobs.

In droves these workers had come from the South and gone to the New England factories, the East Coast shipyards, the midwestern auto factories and aircraft plants and shipyards.[11] Negro farm workers had declined from 41 percent to 28 percent between April 1940 and April 1944.[12]

Will They Go Back?

Do they plan to go back where they came from? Hardly not. In Portland, Oregon, the city fathers were so certain of this two years ago that they blocked a public housing project for over-crowded in-migrant Negroes so that they might be discouraged against staying. The scheme was duplicated in other industrial centers.[13] But having come out of the South, earned more money and tasted something of freedom, these migrant workers have felt little urge to return. Also, having gone to industrial centers they, like other already there, are feeling the effects of curtailed production and an uncertain future

unless a high level of employment is created and maintained.

More than a year and a half ago the Congress of Industrial Organizations held a two-day conference in New York on the subject of "full employment."[14] It was the first genuine attempt to popularize the idea with the American public. Henry A. Wallace, then vice president, took up the cry and wrote a book on the subject.

And in the minds of more than half of the labor movement and many others outside the movement, 60 million jobs has come to mean full employment. The federal government's top planners, however, have been more cautious and have simply said there must be "jobs for all those willing and able to work."[15]

Now, the civilian labor force of 53 million in June 1945 was greater than the total labor force of 48 million in 1929. Estimates of the civilian labor force in 1950, after allowing for withdrawals and also for normal increases, come to about 59 million for whom productive jobs must be found, 11 million more than in the peak prewar year 1929 and 6 million more than are now in the civilian labor force. The Labor Department anticipates a normal load of unemployed at from 1.5 to 2 million due to shifting from jobs and other reasons.[16]

The No. 1 problem of the Nation therefore is now pretty much understood. In the public prooucements of the Administration,[17] labor[18] and management[19] two objectives stand out in common. There are (1) a program of public works to assure an unspecified amount of employment, presumably adequate to maintain a high level of purchasing power; and (2) broadening of unemployment compensation benefits to displaced war workers. Both labor and the Administration would go a step further by amending the Fair Labor Standards Act upwards to establish a higher minimum wage level. In dustry frowns.

All three groups, however, see other objectives some of which can be nationalized in terms of reconversion and others which may not, without much point-stretching. Among these are expansion of social security benefits, extension of funds to displaced war workers during the transition period to return to their homes or other jobs, a revised tax program, and the establishment of the annual-wage. Legislation looking to the attainment of all these ends has been introduced.

Labelled a bill "to establish a national policy and program for assuring continuing full employment in a free competitive economy, etc.", the Murray-Wagner proposal in the Senate would empower the President to:

1. Submit to Congress annually a "National Budget" of jobs, existing and required, to produce full employment.

2. Recommend, to the extent necessary, a program of prospective private investment and expenditure to make up a full-employment volume of production, and where this is inadequate to propose to the Congress a program of public works to make up the necessary volume.

The bill would give the first opportunity at doing the job to private investment, private enterprise. Even where the federal government steps in, the public works to be undertaken must be done through contract with private concerns.

Private Business

A number of devices are made available to the government for manipulation to help private business achieve the objective sought. Amendment to federal policies and activities with reference to banking and currency, monopoly and competition, wages and working conditions, foreign trade and investment agriculture, taxation, social security, the development of natural resources, and such other matters as may directly or indirectly affect the level of non-federal investment and expenditure, are suggested.[20]

Although the bill carries no specific bar against discrimination on the basis of race, creed or color—nor was one proposed by the lone spokesman for Negroes who appeared[21] the disposition is to rely upon the declaration of policy which says that *"all* Americans able to work and seeking work have the right to useful, remunerative, regular, and full-time employment."[22]

The urgency for such legislation, the support being given it in more than just principle by the Administration, management and labor, indicates that the Nation is prepared to act favorably in order to stave off another postwar depression.

Of a more immediate character, however, is the need for alleviating the hardship being experienced by hundreds of thousands of war workers all over the country who have been dumped out of their jobs by the collapse of Japan. Nine million of them have been caught between production for war and production for peace—one ended and the other not yet adequately begun.

As far back as May, 1944, Senate leaders of both parties firmly promised to enact legislation directed to the human aspects of reconversion. Despite this declaration, nothing has since been made law for the benefit of the mass of the people and returning veterans who face the reconversion from war to peace.

By contrast, the Congress has passed all the measures demanded by business. The Tax Adjustment Act of 1945 guarantees corporations vast postwar tax refunds at the same time that they have permitted industry to build up tremendous reserves, in themselves sufficient, to weather reconversion disturbances. A liberal Contract Settlement Act provides for speedy termination of war contracts and makes available funds to companies engaged in war production. Amortization of plants has been accelerated, permitting industry to pay out of war profits the full costs of new plant facilities before paying taxes.[23]

Senator Kilgore of West Virginia and others introduced in July a bill which would answer the need in part by authorizing the federal government to meet that portion of State unemployment benefits that falls below $25 a week, irrespective of dependents, and extends the benefits to cover a period of not more than twenty-six weeks. The bill also would grant transportation costs to war workers and their families, plus cost of moving household goods, to an area where the U. S. Employment Service has certified that there are aailable job opportunities.[24]

The measure, Senator Kilgore has assured, does *not* "give $25 every Thursday to everyone . . . (nor) federalize the unemployment compensation system . . . (nor) take the place of permanent amendments to the unemployment compensation system which are now being studied by the Congress."[25]

Nature of Problem

Indicative of the problem faced is the picture drawn for the Senate Finance Committee last month by a witness in favor of the bill. "If we assume that there will be an average of 100,000 unemployed (in St. Louis) in the coming year," he said, "it will cut purchasing power (here) at the rate of $4 million per week. There is no need of stressing the effect upon our economy of such a drastic reduction in purchasing power."

The following table showing average family savings among the family income groups of his union as of August 22-23, 1945 was entered into the record to underline the need for government aid:[26]

Family Income Group	*Average Amt. of Family Savings*
Less than $1500	$ 76.32
$1500—$2000	119.22
$2000—$2500	239.30
$2500—$3000	358.52
Over $3000	1163.99

In August a group of progressive senators organized a bloc which is destined to grow in importance and influence. They include, among others, Senators Kilgore, and Pepper of Florida, Wagner and Mead of New York, and Murray of Montana. These men outlined a program of legislation which should appeal to Mr. Average American like a steak in the red-point days. Not only will the program take him over the hump of the transition period; it will bring him closer to the Economic Bill of Rights which the late Franklin D. Roosevelt first gave to the Nation on January 11, 1944.

These men have dedicated themselves to a readjustment for the veteran to the future with full realization of his benefits; to expanded social security; to adequate housing and health facilities; to stability in agriculture; to high levels of wages, scientific research, construction of community facilities; and to additional educational and training opportunities. They would do all these things within the framework of a sound fiscal policy for the government.

(*Continued on page* 301)

Haitians Debate

A. Race and Race

This unsigned editorial attack on the American Negro appeared in the May 25, 1945, issue of the Haitian daily Le Soir. Editor-owner of the paper is the Haitian-born white Frenchman, Gerard de Catalogne. Educated in France, Catalogne was for a time editorial writer on the French Royalist paper L'Action Francaise, once one of the most reactionary papers in Europe. Upon his return to Haiti he became a writer for the Catholic daily La Phalange, but he left this journal and in 1942 established his own paper, Le Soir. Though the paper apparently has the support of the Lescot government, the opinion expressed is by no means general among the Haitian elite as Mangonès' reply on the next page proves

IN THE course of writing an article on our race and its future the other day, we found it necessary to allude to the Negroes and mulattoes of the United States because of a tendency to believe that identity of color inevitably creates solidarity among all Negro and Negroid groups.

Yet there are many noticeable differences between the black race of the United States and the Haitian race, although the physical elements apparently reveal the same constitution in respect to the primitive black type and its crossings.

On this particular point we wish to offer a few lines written by Estournelles de Constant,[1] who is well known to all informed people, as the fruit of his long residence and repeated visits to the United States. Our reason for reproducing them here is to help our publicists in their examination of our Haitian Negro question:

"A day of reckoning always comes sooner or later. The United States is now paying retribution for one of Europe's worst crimes. In our time one cannot enslave a nation, and still less a race, with impunity. Sooner or later right will have its revenge. We have an example of this in the Balkan states. And if Poland and Alsace are pointed out as contrary examples, my reply is—'Wait and see.'

Cannibal Origins

"From the first, the distribution of Negroes imported into the Americas was never equal. The Negro races are still more varied in their divisions than the whites. There are abysmal differences in the degree of civilization or barbarism between them. The most docile, the most intelligent and industrious, the best blood in West Africa, the descendants of pastoral and agricultural peoples, are found in the West Indies, in Cuba, where, being well treated by the Spaniards, they are making progress. In Santo Domingo, however, the inhuman policy of Napoleon I paralyzed this progress, to the great disadvantage of the Negroes as well as of France and civilization. The others—those who were imported into Louisiana and from there into the United States to oppose the Indians—belonged to warlike cannibal tribes."

Three Lions

Little group of Haitian firemen, with helmets, waiting for review.

The great French writer and diplomat remarks, as one of the consequences of the premature emancipation of American Negroes, the revival among them of their worst instincts and it is thus that he explains the crimes and base vices to which they are addicted, even today, and the severity of white repression, particularly the institution of lynching,[2] which was created to offset the miscarriage and slowness of regular justice. And here again we must point out basic differences.

Haitian Criminality

As a matter of fact, our Haitian criminality, so far as the common law is concerned, is not so grave as that of our congeners in the United States. Being in control of our own political destiny, we seem to have in this domain limited our inclinations toward violence and murder, and here we differ only slightly from many other peoples who can even claim to have surpassed us in this respect. Conceding even the worst, for our independence soon relieved us of our white masters against whom we would have perhaps vented, like the American Negroes, our spirit of revenge, we can say that in this content—if not in such crimes as theft, etc.—we lag far behind the Americans in spite of the superiority of their administrative organizations.

Although under the regime of slavery, the bad treatment of the Negroes by American planters may not have been as forcefully denounced as it was in Santo Domingo, it has been found that since emancipation and by the very reason of their inexcusable conduct when freed, the Negroes of the United States became the objects of a resentment and a hostility scarcely concealed by present prejudice. Estournelles de Constant speaks of it in these terms:

"The great contempt entertained for them by the English and Americans did not make their education easy. We can easily understand why the European colony had an ungovernable prejudice against them, amounting to a horror of black men, and why the white man absolutely refused to come into contact with them and made up his mind to use them like animals, and nothing more. It is obviously difficult to react against the consequences of such a system, which was fatal to the master as well as the slave. It was not merely a physical, but a reasoned antipathy."

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[1] Paul Henri Benjamin, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant (1852-1924), was a French writer and diplomat. In 1909 he was awarded the Nobel peace prize. In 1913, Armand Colin of Paris brought out his book *Les Etats-Unis d'Amerique*, in which the author gives an account of his impressions during his visits to the United States in 1902, 1907, 1911, and 1912. The quotations in this editorial are from section five of the thirteenth chapter, "Les Nègres." D'Estournelles says nothing, however, about the supposed superiority of Haitian Negroes over their brothers in the United States or elsewhere; his emphasis is on the supposed superiority of Cuban Negroes and those under Spanish domination in Santo Domingo.—Ed.

[2] On page 344 of his book, d'Estournelles writes: "Lynch law is a survival of Indian warfare."—Ed.

American Negroes

B. Haitian Talks Back

By Mercer Cook

In this reply to the unsigned editorial in Le Soir, Albert Mangonès reveals its prejudiced sophistry along with the pseudo-scientific nature of the premise upon which it is based—the "anthropology" of a diplomat

RECENTLY the Haitian capital was shocked by an article that appeared in *Le Soir*, one of its five daily newspapers. This unsigned attack on the American Negro not only ran counter to President Lescot's official and personal policy, but also wounded Haitian intellectuals and the public here in general. Refutation came immediately in the form of an eloquent open letter written by M. Albert Mangonès, secretary of the Bureau of Ethnology, and son of the mayor of Port-au-Prince. *Le Soir* did not publish Mangonès reply, but two other Haitian dailies did, however: *Haiti-Journal* and *Le Nouvelliste*. Young Mangonès, a talented architect and artist, who graduated from Cornell university three years ago, pulled no punches in his reply, a translation of which follows:

The Editor
Le Soir
Port-au-Prince

Sir:

At this moment I have before me your editorial entitled "Race and Race", which was published in today's edition, May 25, 1945. The inexactitudes—to use a polite term—that it presents concerning the Negro problem in the United States, and the dangerous implications that it contains on the race question in general, have motivated my request that you publish this letter in your columns on the same page on which your present article appears.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant's assertions, reproduced in your article, relative to the African racial groups transported to the New World are completely unscientific and based on purest fancy. The peremptory declaration that the tribes of African Negroes taken to Louisiana were exclusively "cannibal warrior tribes" quite the opposite of those sent to the West Indies who—still quoting d'Estournelles—were composed of "the gentlest, most intelligent Negroes . . . the best blood of West Africa," is absolutely devoid of any historical foundation. It is just as fanciful as the same author's claim that the West Indian Negroes were treated "kindly" by the Spaniards.

Contentions Absurd

This is neither the place nor the time to demonstrate the absurdity of this arbitrary so-called selection of slaves for the New World. I shall be satisfied to point out that others more qualified than I, specialists on this subject—such as Dr. Price-Mars, for instance—would be glad to contribute their knowledge and their intellectual integrity if it should become necessary to carry the argument further.

Albert Mangonès

The important consideration here is that the Haitian public should have an opportunity to appreciate the danger contained in unverified and erroneous affirmations of this kind. As a matter of fact, your editorial, based on the ridiculous premises of M. d'Estournelles, reaches a conclusion that is not only gratuitously insulting to the colored American, but also completely false historically; namely: due to their "premature emancipation," the American Negroes, descendants of supposedly cannibalistic and tainted tribes, reveal in their social behavior an alleged "revival of the worst instincts," explaining "the crimes and base acts to which they are addicted (sic) even today." Your editorial continues by commenting that "the severity of white repressions, particularly the institution of lynching, was created to offset the miscarriage or slowness of regular justice," and aimed toward preventing those Negroes from succumbing to crime with the voracious appetite of the savage!

First of all, the accusation that the American Negro is—according to your own words—"addicted to crime and the worst vices," is an infamous lie that an admirable group of American anthropologists, whites for the most part, have always insisted on refuting. And with scientists like Franz Boas, Alfred Métraux, and Ruth Benedict, I wish to proclaim that absolutely nothing, not one serious scientific fact justifies so shameful an affirmation. Moreover, your accusation is unfortunately hardly new or original. Translated into English and inserted in the columns of a southern paper, it would be quite at home with the arguments (sic) presented by the Ku Klux Klan to justify racial bigotry, historically the worst of all: that of the white American racist. Note that I say of the *racist* and not of the white American *people*. When a newspaper as eminent as *Le Soir* publishes such opinions in Haiti that can serve only to reinforce racist arguments, should we consider it an unconscious slip?

The all-too-clear insinuation of your article that the Haitian Negro, thanks to racial advantages (?) and to supposedly favorable historical circumstances, is superior to the American Negro, is not only ridiculous before the facts, but it constitutes one of those humiliating grimaces, which consist in trying to make oneself at least more readily tolerated by the master by being a slightly more acceptable menial—by the vile method of attempting to slander another whom one already knows to be a pariah!

Real Explanation

The simple truth is that if, in districts where living conditions are despicable, where the human being finds himself forced, degraded into unnameable promiscuity, such as in certain slums of Harlem, juvenile delinquency is excessive, this state of affairs is recognized in elementary sociology as due solely to unbearable social and economic

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The Black Streak

By Octavia B. Wynbush

Lucia Manton discovers that her mother's humanity does not embrace black people. A story about color prejudice in a quadroon family

"AND you won't go, mother?"

Lucia Manton leaned eagerly forward from the cushions on the long, rust-colored divan and stared hard and expectantly at the slight, brown-haired woman standing across the room, framed in the exquisite lace curtains through which the late afternoon sun, streaming in, illuminated the woman's lovely profile.

The beautifully-cared-for hand grasping one edge of the curtain tightened; the face turned more resolutely toward the window, as Marianna Manton shook her sleekly-groomed head a determined no.

"Mother, you're wrong, so very wrong!"

Springing from the divan, Lucia moved in graceful slenderness across the thickly padded Oriental rug, and stood beside her mother. Gently the girl covered the hand on the curtain with her own.

"Don't try to persuade me!"

Marianna's hand slid down from the curtain, found its mate, and twined with it tightly. She turned her face fully to the window. Through a blur of quick tears, her eyes fixed on what hung before her.

Drawing back the curtain, Lucia stepped closer to her mother, then let the curtain fall into place, so that they were both framed within its folds. Her eyes, too, rested on the emblem hanging in the window.

For two years it had hung there, a blue star, bravely saying, "He will come back some day." A month ago yesterday, it had changed to gold.

"Grant would want you to go, mother."

The last, slanting rays of the sun, gold-sparkling her brown hair, caught the frown that wrinkled Marianna's high, fair forehead; scintillated the icy fire that flared quickly in her gray eyes, and splashed more deeply the sudden red which encarmined her cheeks.

"Don't say that!" she rasped.

Lucia sighed. A more tactful daughter would have known how to handle this difficult mother. But Lucia had never been known for tact.

"You know he would, mother."

There was no gentle, tactful persuasion in the girl's tone. Her words rang with a passionateness which, although controlled, was plainly evident.

Marianna's brow straightened; the icy fire flickered out before astonishment, and the crimson faded from her cheeks. Really, this could not be her daughter, Lucia, speaking in such a tone to her. Tactless, Lucia always had been, but quiet and deferentially worshipful, at all times; always seeing eye to eye with her parents—after a little persuasion.

Disengaging her hands from her daughter's, Marianna pushed aside the curtains and, with all the stateliness her five feet four inches could command, she stalked across the dim room to the long, wide mahogany desk that occupied much of the center floor space. Flicking on the fluorescent desk lamp, she slipped into the desk chair, and began nervously thumbing through a neat pile of typed manuscript.

Slowly Lucia followed her mother. Perching herself on the opposite side of the desk, she rested one foot on the floor, and began swinging the other deliberately back and forth. What she had to say did not come readily, and her mother was giving her no co-operation whatever.

"You see, mother, it's getting awfully awkward for me."

"And why should it be getting awkward for you?" petulantly snapped Marianna, as she snatched a disarranged sheet of the manuscript back into place. She did not, however, look up at Lucia.

"Well, the kids at school are saying things."

"What things?"

"Oh—things. Innuendoes, I guess you'd call them, if older, more refined people said them, but the kids at High aren't very old, and they're not very refined. They just crash things down on your head—like—like—"

"Yes?"

This time Marianna looked up, as Lucia's sentence faded into the stillness of the room.

"I didn't mean to go at it like this, mother, but today one of the girls at the table where I sat in the cafeteria spoke up and said that she thought it a shame when the whole world is fighting for democracy that some people right here in Homeville were so darn color-crazy they couldn't forgive a black girl for marrying into their family, even—even—after her husband had been killed."

"She said that to you?" Marianna's voice seemed thin and far away.

"Not *to* me, mother, but *at me*. When I go up and left, she pretended that she didn't know I was at the table, but everybody there knew better. Everybody knew she meant us, because—because Sylphania's the only—dark girl, and Grant's the only—"

Lucia's voice choked, and her sentence remained suspended.

With one delicate hand Marianna waved the incident away—completely away. As her hand moved in the graceful arc of the gesture, it passed through the light cast by the desk lamp. How beautiful my hand is, thought Marianna, gazing for an enraptured second at that member, and how fair. How very transparent it is, in this light.

"Don't let those ignorant children at High worry you, Lucia. I'm sorry that you have to be thrown with them, but it's your father's idea, not mine, that you go to public school. If I had my way, you'd be in a good boarding school."

Leaning forward, Marianna lifted her pen from its bronze stand, and held it tentatively over the first page of the manuscript.

"Now, run along like a good, dear child, I must finish proofing my speech. You know, I have to deliver it before the Interracial Committee tomorrow night."

Lucia smiled—a sour, comprehending smile. Such an old dodge! Didn't her mother know that she couldn't work it forever on a sixteen-year-old miss? And, too, the speech had been proofed three days ago, and she, Lucia, had helped with the proofing.

"I'm not going, mother, until we talk this thing through."

Marianna stretched out her hand to put the pen back into place. Her eyes fixed on Lucia, she missed the stand twice before the pen was safely lodged. If ten years could miraculously disappear, she would put this fractious youngster across her knee, and settle the argument with a well-placed slipper.

"Just what is there to talk about? I've said my say."

"After all, mother, Sylphania is Grant's wife, and Grant's your son, and my brother. I say *is*, because, to me, his being dead doesn't change the relationship, "And Sylphania's still his wife."

A bitter smile writhed the corners of Marianna's mouth. She would never forget

the resentment which had run through her deepest grief like a discordant note; resentment over the fact that it was through a telephone message from the father of her son's wife that she had learned of the boy's death. The circumstance had served to impress the one fact that she was trying so hard to erase. That Grant had married this black girl. Marianna propped her elbows on the desk, twined her fingers together, and pressed them against her forehead.

Slowly Lucia moved a hand over the highly-waxed surface of the desk. As her hand came within the glow of the light, she involuntarily compared it with her mother's hands, twined so tightly together. Marianna's hands were alabaster; Lucia's, a warm ivory with the soft patina of age.

"You shouldn't hate Silly and her people, mother, just because they're black."

"I don't hate them. It's—it's just——"

Marianna's voice trailed off. Here hands gestured vaguely.

Lucia swung herself down from the desk and faced her mother. The sudden movement forced Marianna to look up.

How like her father the girl looks now, thought the mother. The way her hair grows in a widow's peak from her slightly rounding forehead, with its vertical wrinkle; the black eyes aflame with inward lightning; the slightly flaring nostrils quivering with emotional stress; the firm, slightly square chin thrust out just now in unfamiliar defiance, makes her look more like her father than ever.

"Look, mother!" Lucia's little fist beat the desk. "All that was good in your day—I guess—when you were growing up, I mean. Color must have been about all there was to make a distinction, wasn't there? I'm just guessing, you know. I mean—it must have been that the people who had the best chance got it because of color—Oh, I don't know what made it that way here, in Homeville."

Lucia paused, hoping that her mother would help her, but Marianna merely regarded the girl with hard, unfriendly eyes.

Lucia stumbled on, "I recall hearing Aunt Carlotta boast, when I was little, that all the 'elite' could trace their ancestry back to some of the best—white folks—in the state. That must be why we considered ourselves so much better than the dark colored people—being able to wear the bar sinister."

"Lucia, I never thought I would live to hear my own daughter talk in such a vulgar manner!"

"I'm not being vulgar. I'm just talking the way everything is done nowadays. Straight and plain. I think it's downright shameful the way this family has behaved to Silly and her folks. When the whole world's talking about democracy."

"Democracy! If democracy means I have to wallow with all sorts of people because I am unfortunate enough to have, somewhere, a black ancestor—"

"Being nice to Silly's folks is not wallowing, mother! They're respectable and well-thought-of."

"Silly! Such a common, made-up name. Her real name is bad enough, but a nick-name like Silly!"

"Grant liked it. In fact, he gave it to her."

Lucia's voice lowered to its usual cultivated pitch; her lips trembled, as she added, "and he would have adored Grant, junior, I'm sure."

Marianna looked sharply at Lucia. "Have you seen—the baby?" She demanded.

"Only at a distance. I've never been to the house, because you told me not to go."

Marianna nodded, a smugly complacent nod. Lucia was still her obedient, unquestioning child.

"The day I saw Sylphania," Lucia went on, "she was coming down Main street, with the baby in her arms. When she got sight of me she turned into Roswell's store. I feel sure she did so just to avoid meeting me. And now, the baby is sick."

Marianna stirred uncomfortably. Lucia was back where she had started. It was the news of the baby's illness, conveyed to her by one of her high school friends, which had begun this argument.

"It's nothing serious, I'm sure," Marianna said. "All babies get sick some time."

"Helen said he's pretty sick, mother. Even if he weren't sick, we ought to go call on his mother, especially since he's all we've got to remind us of Grant. It's the only decent thing to do, don't you think?"

The jangling of the telephone bell in the hall cut off any reply that Marianna might have made.

"Answer it, please, Lucia. Katie doesn't like to be interrupted when dinner is so nearly ready, and I'm quite fatigued, myself."

Marianna's face took on that peaked, exhausted look which usually brought her family to her feet.

Lucia slipped swiftly into the hall. Marianna sighed and sat back in her chair. Closing her eyes, she gave herself over to her thoughts.

Words of her quadroon mother came floating back over the still years. "Keep 'em on their own side of the fence, girls. If you once let the bars down, you can't put 'em back up again. You can't rub a black streak out, and we don't want any more great-grandmother Janes in this family."

Great-grandmother Jane, the bete noir of the family; great-grandfather Hugh's black African wife. Marianna had never seen her, but she had often shuddered at the vivid description given by her own mother. Every generation, since great-grandmother Jane's day, had feared the black streak that might, at any time, show up in some child.

Sister Carlotta had borne no children, because of her mortal fear of the streak. Toni, brother John's third child, possessing the most beautiful features and the loveliest hair that had ever been known in the family, was a constant problem to the others. She could never accompany her parents, or her brothers and sisters on any of their excursions to theatres, restaurants or other places where a dark skin would not be countenanced. Lucia, herself, had barely escaped. There had been no more children for Marianna after Lucia. The risk was too great. And Sylphania, Grant's widow, had brothers. Lucia must be protected. The bars must be kept up.

"Mother, you haven't heard a word that I've said!"

With a quick jerk of her shoulder muscles, Marianna returned to consciousness of her surroundings.

"What is it?" she queried, looking up.

"The telephone, mother."

"Oh, yes." Marianna started to rise. "Who wants me?"

"Nobody? Then why interrupt me?"

"Helen just telephoned to say that the baby died a few minutes ago."

Frozen into a half-sitting, half-standing position, Marianna stared at Lucia, down whose cheeks a rivulet of tears were coursing.

"Surely you'll go now, mother?"

Keep the bars up—once they are down—the black streak—Sylphania's brothers—Grant gone—Lucia alone left.

"No!"

"Mother!"

With an angry twirl of her short skirt, Lucia swung around and started for the hall door.

Marianna sprang up.

"Lucia!" she cried, amazement, anger and authority struggling for mastery in her voice. "Lucia, come back here!"

The answer came in a furious stamp of running feet on the hall stairway, and the faint sound of an upstairs doors being slammed.

Marianna walked swiftly to the hall door, looked up the stairway, and opened her mouth to call out. However, her habitual restraint, her distaste for scenes and the thought that Katie, in the kitchen, would know that something was unusually wrong with this well-conducted household overmastered her impulse. A step or two more took her to the foot of the stairs. Tentatively she placed her hand on the newel post, stood undecided a moment longer, then, turning slowly, walked back into the living room and sank down in the chair before her desk.

"She'll throw herself on her bed, have a good cry, and be herself again by the time Katie serves dinner." Marianna spoke aloud, in the manner of one who is trying to convince herself by the sound of her own voice. She rested her elbows on her desk once more, twined her fingers, and pressed her forehead against them.

In her heart there was a strange mix-up of emotions. She was sorry and she was glad. Sorry because her son, Grant, had married a black woman. Sorry because Grant was dead. Sorry for the grief of the black woman for her dead baby. Of course, she was sorry for that; but glad, darkly glad, that the baby who, she had heard, was very

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Education in Black

By Reid E. Jackson

A personal narrative telling the author's experiences with an reactions to the American system of bi-racial education .

"MY father was just about the biggest man in town!" With childish faith, I believed that everyone else thought so too. Hadn't we left the small town where father was high school principal to come to the state's largest city so that father could become principal of the new elementary-school just completed there?

Whenever we had opportunity my brother and I boasted about "our school." "Yes! it was our school. After all, wasn't father the principal?"

I was only six then and my brother was four. Only a few months remaining before I entered school; and when my playmates (most of whom were white) would begin to talk about the approaching event of school, I would always break in to inquire, "Why don't you go to my father's school 'cause he's got the biggest, newest and bestest in the city—no, in the country—no, in the whole, wide world!"

As usual, some of the older boys and girls condescended to play with "us" smaller children. For some time, though, I didn't happen to see the understanding glances which they passed among themselves, as we prated about our father's school. Then, one day, it happened! Unable to bear it any longer, one of the older boys stormed impatiently "Don't you know that niggers and whites can't go to the same school?" Not deigning to answer, my tormentor stomped away, leaving us all in pained silence.

But, I would not let the matter rest there. A new question had been posed for me. Where could I get the answer? "Why, from my father, of course!" That evening when he came home from school, tired as usual, I started to ask him. "Wouldn't it be better, though, I thought, to wait until after he had finished his dinner?" As I waited, somewhat impatiently, the question kept swirling through my mind: "Why can't Negroes and whites go to the same school?" It all just didn't make sense to me. Here I was daily playing with all the children—white and Negro alike—on my square and no one drew a line between us. Why do we have to separate when we go to school? Why different schools?

Why Different Schools?

When my father had finished his dinner and settled back in his rocking chair, I sidled up to him, picked up courage and asked: "Father, is it true that whites and Negroes *must* go to different schools?" I awaited his answer with bated breath; that would settle the question. "Wasn't father the smartest man in the whole world?"

I didn't know it then, but now I know that my father was trying to let me down gently as, audibly clearing his throat, he answered, "Yes, son, that's true;" and stopped, as if to signify that that was all there was to be said. I was not to be satisfied so easily, however. Again I pressed the question: "But, father, *why* do they have to go to different schools?" Still attempting to be brief, my father replied: "In the North, son, Negroes and whites *can* go to the same school. It is only in the South, that they must go to separate schools." More mystified than ever, I exclaimed, "But, if they can go to the same schools up North, I surely don't see why they can't go to the same schools down here in the South!" Once more, my father strove to satisfy my curiosity. "Well, you see, it's a law in the southern states that Negroes and whites are not supposed to mix in public places or social affairs." Still uncomprehending, I asked, "But, father, why?—?"

Soon afterwards I entered the Negro elementary school in my neighborhood and promptly lost sight of this perplexing question in the rush of making new friends and adjusting to an unfamiliar life of discipline and study. But, not for long!

I was in the seventh grade and by this time my interest in books and writing had become somewhat pronounced. Perhaps because my mother was one of the librarians in the city's Negro Free Public Library (one of the pioneer public libraries for Negroes in the country). Since her working hours coincided with those of my father; and since he also liked to spend most of his spare time browsing around the library; my mother made it a habit to take my brother and me to the library with her whenever she was on duty. We pored over all the books in the children's section and often completing these we would invade the adult department.

Under the circumstances it was only natural that I should try my hand at writing, as I did when there came an announcement of the annual Jefferson Monument Fund Prize Essay Contest, sponsored by the leading local daily. Purpose of the contest was to keep alive the spirit and purpose of Thomas Jefferson by memorializing his achievements in student essays. It was whispered privately, however, that the paper's circulation, after all, was the major reason. My father was delighted to learn that I wanted to compete in a literary contest. He was so pleased that he even reviewed my amateurish efforts and offered helpful criticisms.

Finally, I finished my essay, addressed the envelope, and sent it off. "Now, I am an author," I mused to myself with glowing self-satisfaction and pardonable egotism. Then that long period of suspense before the announcement of the winners.

One day, several weeks later, the school principal sent for me to come to his office. When I entered, he looked up quickly from the desk at which he was working and, beaming a smile, bade me to sit down. "Poor little me," I was wondering to myself. "What have I done?" Had he found out that I was the boy who had been making catcalls in the recess line? Prepared for the worst, I listened with quaking heart. "Well, my little man," boomed my principal, "you are to be congratulated!" Heaving a deep sigh of relief, I asked "Congratulated, for what, sir?"

Won Essay Contest

My principal explained: "One of the judges in the Jefferson Monument Fund Prize Essay Contest just telephoned to ask me who, in this school, wrote essay number 318. When I gave him your name, he told me that your essay had won first prize. We are proud of you. You may be excused to go home for the rest of the day so that you can tell your family the good news." With great restraint I walked out of the office but instead of turning those handsprings I wanted o turn I had to pinch myself to see if I was dreaming. Was it actually true that I won the first prize?

My joy, however, was short-lived! The evening paper did print my name as the prize-winner along with the school I represented. Immediately, enterprising white people observed that the school mentioned was a "Negro" school. Then, *I* must be a Negro! Next day, the morning paper carried a curt "correction." Through error the judges had confused the numbers. My essay deserved

only "honorable mention" and the first prize had been awarded to a *white* boy in a *white* school. My principal, in turn, received a polite note of apology stating that "evidently there had been some mistake." They didn't stop there, either. The next year they set up a separate division for Negro contestants and all-Negro prizes were established. "White supremacy" had been maintained—a lesson which I was to learn several times thereafter!

As a junior in college I again came face-to-face with the "color line." It all happened this way: My class in sociology invited the class in sociology at the white state university to come down and spend a day on our campus. All went well the first part of the day. Both groups paraded the usual platitudes about racial goodwill and proffered stilted gestures of racial amity. If only it had ended there. This incident might not have occurred. But we were trying to outdo ourselves as hosts. Our guests must see our fraternity and sorority houses. When we reached my fraternity house (which boasted the only grand piano), I couldn't resist the temptation to sit down and play. Maybe, I *did* want our visitors to know that I played the piano in the campus dance band. At any rate, the music made them want to dance and they begged me to keep on. Willingly, I did.

White looked at black and black looked at white. Before you knew it, everything was all mixed up and everyone was dancing with everybody else. Racial lines and tension were temporarily forgotten. Human beings were enjoying themselves. I really got my big laugh, however, when the blond boy whom I had run against in the recent state track relays plumped down on the stool beside me with, "See that girl over there? Is she white or colored?" I looked in the direction he pointed and saw a girl with satin-white skin and replied casually, "She?—why she's my cousin." Undaunted, the boy said "Gee! but she's the prettiest thing here!" and rushed over to ask her for the next dance.

Of course, there were repercussions to the whole affair. The white professor of sociology was "fired" by the state university board for countenancing racial intermingling, and our professor of sociology was given a temporary "leave of absence." We were herded together and subjected to a stereotype lecture on the exact boundary between educational and social activities and solemnly warned never to let the two overlap, particularly where whites and Negroes were involved. My reaction, I vividly recall, was that education in white and education in black must forever remain purely separate processes—even if they do embrace the same elements. Why couldn't blind whites and weak-spined Negroes see the futility of this schism?

University Experiences

After a hard struggle deciding upon my life's vocation, I finally went into teaching, and it was not because of the money. I was making four and five times as much playing the piano in a professional dance band as I could teaching. Maybe I was tired of the one-night stands the band was making. Maybe I was depressed by the fact that two of my "pals" had been left stranded in strange towns simply because we had come across musicians who could play better. Whatever it was, I quit the exciting blare of the orchestra world for the quiet obscurity of a high school classroom. It was not any too long, however, before I felt myself going stale. Life became routine and, I, stagnant along with it. Suddenly, I made up my mind to "chuck" it all and change my environment.

This is the type of rural school attended by thousands of colored boys and girls in the South—where they begin their "education in black."

What would be my way out? I had it. I would resign my job and go to work on my master's degree. This decision seemed foolish to my father and mother. Anyway, despite their protests, I went on to the very same white state university that had discharged the "liberal" sociology professor and enrolled in the field of education.

My family again questioned my action: "Why should I leave the field of natural science to study a pseudo-science like education?" I couldn't put it into words for them; but, within myself, I harbored a burning urge to do something not only about my self-discovered inability to teach without further training, but to also find out what was wrong with the American system of education.

I spent my first months in the white state university trying to convince the university examiner that I should be admitted into the graduate school of education without "condition." This was very necessary because my Negro undergraduate college had not then secured regional accreditation.

My studious habits finally got me into an embarrassing situation. One afternoon I was cornered by members of the leading men's honor society in education. Whispering in my ear, they told me that I was "likely timber" for their organization and asked if I would be interested in joining their fraternity. "Sure, I was interested," I said. Shortly afterwards, I was notified that I had been chosen as a candidate for initiation and enthusiastically I performed the initiation chores assigned me. In the meantime, I discovered that there were two other candidates for initiation into this learned society; so the three of us got together and compared grade-point averages. Each of them had a 3.5 average, while I had succeeded in maintaining a 3.7 average. Since a 3.2 cumulative average qualified one for membership in the fraternity, we felt very good about ourselves.

It never occurred to me, though, that the other two candidates were white and that I, alone, was colored—not until the usual fate overtook me. Without explanation I was suddenly informed that my name had been dropped from the candidate's list. My perplexity was cleared up somewhat, however, when a staunch white friend of mine, a member of the organization, stole over to my room and told me the story. It seems there was a clause in the national constitution which forbade the initiation of a Negro. I tried to appear nonchalant about the matter, at least before my white friends; nevertheless, in the pit of my stomach, there was a sickening feeling of despair. Then I became angry about it all. The answer was inescapable—I hated white people! All white people!

Working for a Doctorate

To forget my wounded pride, I plunged more deeply into my work towards the Ph.D. degree. By that time I had made many friends and gained the respect of others, and I knew my way around the campus pretty well. Those were the halycon days of the National Youth Administration and without difficulty I applied for and secured an NYA job. My work was to be in the office of the department chairman and, because of my background and experience, I suppose, I was placed in charge of a project, gathering materials for a textbook being written by the departmental chairman. I had a group of NYA workers, all white, under my supervision. And as a token of my authority, I was assigned a desk in the front of the office. And did I glory in my job! There could have been no better major-domo. One day, seemingly for no reason at all, the departmental chairman stopped me on the staircase: "You know," he said, "I believe that I am

going to recommend you to be my graduate assistant for next quarter. Of course, we never have given this responsibility to Negroes; but, somehow I feel certain that you would know how to act in the situation; particularly since you seem to have ample self-confidence." Thrilled? Yes! I was. Why, I could just see myself in front of that class! In my joy, though, I had reckoned without my pet "boogieman," who, true to form, soon put in his appearance.

As time dragged by and the department chairman said nothing more about the proposition, I decided to ask him if any action had been taken. I feared it might have slipped his mind. "Oh, Yes!" he replied slowly, "I have been meaning to tell you. I am sorry, but the board of trustees rejected your name. They felt that many of the white students would resent the idea of being taught by a Negro. And, even if there were some who would not mind, there still might be parents who would object. The whole matter, then, might easily become an issue, resulting in loss of financial support for the school. In the light of all this, the board concurred that they could not afford to take this chance." I nodded my head. I understood. There it was again. Why did I have to be born a Negro, anyway? Does a Negro have any rights at all?

After I received my coveted doctor of philosophy degree, I made another discovery. Immediately, my white classmates, who had also received Ph.D.'s were shipped off to lucrative positions which came through the Appointments Office. While my record was just as good or better, I was not offered a chance even to consider a job. It was not because the Appointments Bureau felt that I was not qualified; the bare fact was that the jobs were for "whites only." Furthermore, one of my white friends had been retained as a staff member at the university, and since then he has worked up to a very responsible position. As for me, well, I accepted a job as dean of education in a small southern church college for Negroes. I soon found, however, that the title was worth more than the salary. In fact, when I had finished figuring it all out, I found I was making twenty-five dollars less a month than I did *before* I had started working on my Ph.D. degree.

Salary Small

Even the fact that I received my pitiable salary at irregular intervals was dwarfed by the serious problem of trying to run a department which just wasn't there. To make matters worse, before I had gotten on the job, it had been announced to the public that we were going to inaugurate a demonstration elementary school. Yet the college had neither the building nor the equipment for the new unit. A series of hasty conferences led to a decision to convert the lower wing of the girls' dormitory into space for an elementary school. Having cleared the place for occupancy, we were then faced with the problem of providing seats and other equipment.

At this juncture, the bright idea struck me that we might petition the county board of education for any discarded desks that they might have on hand. Luckily, we were successful; not only in securing the desks, but also blackboards. With our own hands we installed the desks and blackboards, even building makeshift closets. This was just the first step in a series of functional experiences which we provided for our student-teachers (who had helped us revamp the lower wing) and which, we honestly thought, were a worthwhile laboratory in the new "progressive education" movement then sweeping the country.

There came the time when we were notified that the state supervisor of Negro Education was planning to visit our school. Naturally, we were not particularly perturbed because, as we thought, we had been making the best of our opportunities.

The supervisor came, but instead of commendation he launched into a tirade against the impracticability of our program. Turning to me he said scathingly, "You are *not* training these prospective teachers in a practical manner." I was taken entirely aback. Before I had time to venture a reply, he continued, "Don't you know that it is a waste of time to try to teach Negros science, history, mathematics, and the like? You should be preparing them for the kind of lives they must live. For example, they should be taught to use their hands in manual activities, such as repairing a broken chair seat, or putting in a new window pane. Instantly I realized that it would be folly for me to attempt to explain to this bigoted school official that the major responsibility of the school was to *imbue growing citizens with the ability and disposition to advance beyond and to improve their present environments.* Must I forever accept as inevitable the fact that there was a white world and a black world in America and that the two, at no time, should coincide?

Needless to say that quip of the state supervisor for Negro Education stirred me up. I determined then and there that I would find out the educational opportunities which the state was *actually* providing for its Negro citizens. Since my funds were limited, I started out with our own county. Polite inquiry of the county superintednent for statistics regarding the education of the Negro brought an insulting reply. Right there I learned that a Negro menial worker could gain entry where the Negro professional was not allowed to go. The bribe of a box of cigars to the Negro janitor of the state office building procured for me those coveted figures which the county superintendent had surlily denied me. Hastily poring over these records, I discovered the amazing fact that several thousands of dollars, originally appropriated for the Negro schools in my county, got "lost" somewhere between the state finance department and the county board of education.

Championing a Cause

This fact, along with other glaring defects, I incorporated into a story on the education of the Negro in my county, a story which was promptly accepted and published by one of the aggressive Negro magazines. My whole point in the story was to prove that the Negro teachers should receive increased salaries and the Negro children much better schools. The piece created a furore. My own Negro friends began to accuse me of jeopardizing the cause of Negro education in the county and state. Not content, they went on to predict dire consequences—both personal and economic—for me. On the contrary, white people, unknown to me, wrote to commend my "fearless courage," as they called it. (By the way, the Ku Klux Klan burned a cross in front of by house.)

While this controversy was raging, I went back to my state university to pursue summer study. Not long after my arrival, I received a letter from the Bishop of the church district which supported the institution where I had been working. The Bishop wasted no time in informing me that he considered my article too indiscreet in tone as well as exhibiting a lack of knowledge on my part of the relationship which should exist between whites and Negroes in the South. Because of this, it was his painful duty to relieve me of my position. Even though I was angered somewhat I was still not wholly worried, since I had begun negotiations with another institution relative to a new job. An amusing finis, however, was written to the incident when the county school board, shamed by my expose and the pressure of unwelcome publicity, raised the salaries of Negro teachers in the county. Then the Bishop wrote me posthaste, apologizing for his previous action, and offering me my old job with a "bigger" title but *no increase* in salary.

This initial experience of a close-up examination of educational facilities for the Negro, in one southern county, spurred me on to a continuous study of the phenomenon. What did I find? Negro schools could be some of the finest in one community yet in another locality little more than hovels. Usually, the magnificant and modern structures were situated in large urban areas where Negroes held the power of the vote and shared, to some degree, in the management of local affairs. Even then the whites would become jealous of such facilities. I have ample personal proof of this. Negroes have been deprived of modern buildings at the behest of angered whites who claimed "the buildings were too fine for 'niggers'" and their schools removed to much shabbier quarters in order to allow white students to take possession of the building.

Yet somehow or other I can't lose hope as long as I have a vision. We know that liberation from shackling frustration is being

(*Continued on page* 301)

British Labour and the Colonies

By George Padmore

British workers live as much by the spoils of Empire as the Tories, and Labour's recent victory in the British general election spells no new day for British colonials. In this article a well-known colonial expert explains why

WHILE the coloured peoples of the Empire welcome the defeat of British Toryism, Labour's recent victory at the general election has aroused very little enthusiasm among them. Indian nationalist leaders have not forgotten that during the tenure of the Labour Governments of Ramsay Macdonald, the Congress Party was as badly persecuted as under any Tory administration. In Africa, Labour pursued traditional British imperial methods, despite its professed socialistic principles. Thanks to this legacy of distrust, the Attlee Government has much leeway to make up if it wants to inspire among the dark-skinned peoples of the Empire the same degree of hope and confidence which it has aroused among the common people of Great Britain and the European Continent.

In an open letter addressed to the Prime Minister, the Pan-African Federation, voicing the sentiments of Africans and peoples of African descent, calls upon the Labour Government to prove its sincerity to the peoples of Asia, Africa, the West Indies, and other Colonial lands, by breaking the centuries-old fetters of British imperialistic domination. "It is the challenge of our time that you, Comrade Attlee, and your Government, should give the Socialist answer to the Tory Imperialism of Mr. Churchill's 'What we have we hold.' What will your answer be?"

After enumerating a number of Colonial problems which cry out for immediate solution, the historic document from the Pan-African Federation suggests that "the Colonial Office should call a conference of representative African and other Colonial leaders elected by the people of the various Colonies, and discuss with them the problems of the common people of their lands and the proper solution of these problems."

"That," asserts the manifesto, "would indeed be heralding in the period of co-operation, of partnership, as against domination. It would be a giant stride towards the Century of the Common Man."

This is the Black Man's challenge to the White Man's doctrine of trusteeship. What will Labour's answer be? Will Major Attlee have the statesmanship to consolidate the victory of the common man in Britain in terms of the common man in Asia and Africa?

"To consolidate this great victory, however, courage is needed. The courage to face squarely the fact that Imperialism is one of the major causes of war. The courage to admit that any high sounding blue-prints that beg the question of man's territorial and political domination by other men, whether their skins are white, yellow or black, is only staving off the day when the evils of war, with their ghastly new atomic weapons, will be unleashed against humanity." Only the liquidation of the present Colonial systems can guarantee peace and security—the common aspiration of all men of goodwill. But unfortunately, the Labour Party, despite its differences with British Toryism on domestic issues, has no foreign or imperial policies distinct from those of the British capitalist classes; and consequently, is unable to meet the challenge put forward in the document of the Pan-African Federation.

Everything that has happened since the formation of the Attlee Government merely serves to emphasize our contention. Mr. Bevin's review of foreign affairs in the House of Commons was that of a Socialist tom cat in a Tory boot. This was so much the case that he was warmly congratulated by his predecessor, Mr. Anthony Eden, for upholding British imperial prestige abroad. The *Overseas Daily Mail* for September 1, 1945, bears out the general impression which the Tory Opposition received from Mr. Bevin's utterances. "Our Labour administrators," this paper writes, "have hard problems to solve, but they have begun well, They have been speaking more with the voice of Empire than the voice of world socialism, and that is a good thing. Let us give them all credit for it. . . . Foreign Secretary Bevin has spoken in a way which has called forth the warmest admiration. No dyed-in-the-wool Imperialist of the Conservative school could have done it better." This is certainly high praise from Britain's foremost reactionary newspaper cir-

British Combine

White workers in Europe seldom identify their interests with those of their colonial brothers, say with these miners in Nigeria. Here African workers, carrying their empty headpans, return to the paddock, name for surface tin mines in Nigeria.

culating abroad.

Will Retain Empire

Upholding the Churchillian thesis, "What we have we hold, what we lost we intend to regain," Mr. Bevin told the Commons that the Union Jack again flies over Hong Kong and other Far Eastern Colonies of the British Crown.

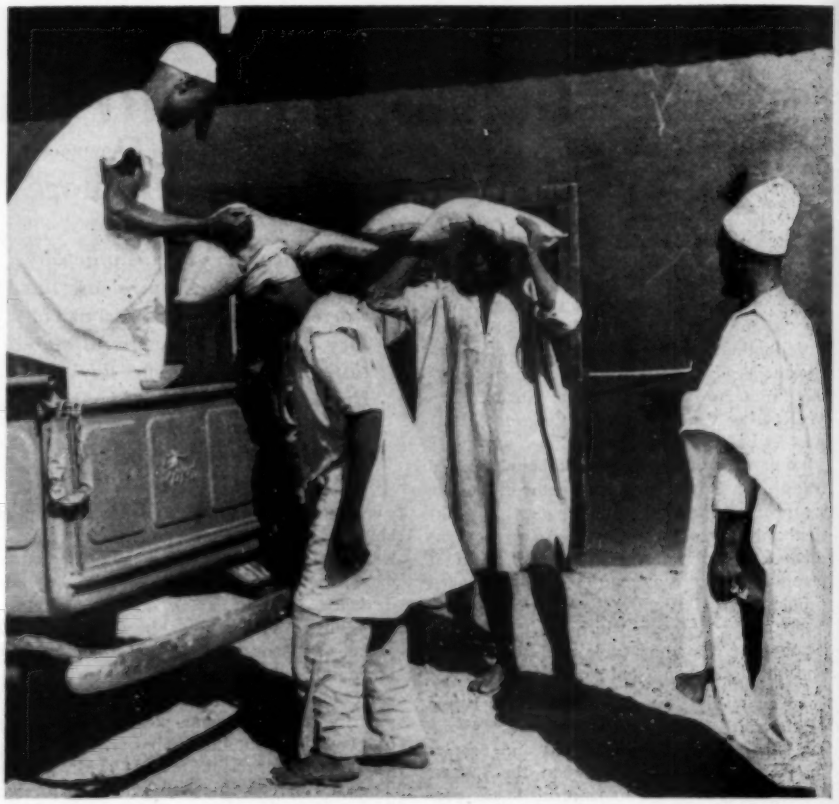
As for India, the Labour Government has not yet made a single gesture by way of conceding any of the legitimate demands of the nationalists. For example, before the general election, Mr. Bevin, speaking for the party executive, promised to abolish the India Office should Labour win. But no sooner was Labour in power than Mr. Amery was turned out and replaced as Secretary of State for India and Burma by Mr. Pethick-Lawrence, a seventy-five year old barrister. Since his appointment, Mr. Pethick-Lawrence has been made a baron and elevated to a seat in the House of Lords.

At his first press conference, Lord Pethick-Lawrence was fulsome in his praise of oriental life and philosophy, but refused to commit himself concerning the future political status of India and Burma. "It has been my good fortune to be personally acquainted with and to count among my friends many of the leading men and women of India." Expanding the new British imperial doctrine of Partnership, the Secretary for India assured the newspaper representatives that: "The ideal which I set before myself as the goal to be reached can in my opinion be very simply stated. It is none other than *equal partnership* between Britain and both India and Burma." Then, to remove any doubts of Labour's sincerity, he added: "This is passionately desired, I am confident, not only by myself and His Majesty's Government, but by the vast majority of all our people." Lord Pethick-Lawrence observed that the British and the oppressed nations—the Indians and Burmese—"have much in common and where we are different we have much to give to and much to learn from one another." What irony! Even Mr. Amery never reached such depths of hypocrisy. Having assured the Indians and Burmese of his love for them, Lord Pethick-Lawrence has invited Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, to London for consultation on the political and economic crisis facing India.

Up to the time of writing, the Government has made no official pronouncement on its Colonial Policy, but this is well known. Mr. George Henry Hall, an ex-coal miner, has succeeded Colonel Oliver Stanley, the aristocratic heir of Lord Denby, as Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Mr. Hall worked in the Welsh coal mines at the age of 13 and later became a trade union official. He entered Parliament in 1922 as a representative of the South Wales Miners' Federation. When Churchill formed his Coalition Government, the Trade Union caucus in the Labour Party nominated Mr. Hall for the job of Under-Secretary of State for Colonies. From then his ministerial career has been rapid. A mediocrity, with little or no knowledge of colonial affairs, Mr. Hall served as a convenient Charlie McCarthy to Lord Cranborne, who assigned him the job of replying to all embarrassing questions in the House of Commons on colonial misrule. When Oliver Stanley succeeded Lord Cranborne, Mr. Hall was shifted to the Treasury and later appointed Under-Secretary to the Foreign Office. He owes his present high office to seniority rather than ability, and to the backing of the influential miners' union, one of the most powerful supporters of the Labour Party.

Mr. Hall's assistant is Arthur Creech Jones, one of the leading colonial experts of the Labour Party. Mr. Jones is also an ex-trade union official and enjoys the backing of the General Workers & Transport Union, of which he was once national secretary. This union was organized by Ernest Bevin, who appointed Mr. Jones his Parliamentary Private Secretary when he (Bevin) joined the Churchill Coalition Government. However, in spite of the patronage of Labour's Foreign Secretary, one of the most influential leaders in the governing party, Hall beat Jones for the highly-prized $25,000 a year job as "dictator" over 60,000,000 dark-skinned natives in Africa and the Colonial Empire.



British Combine

Columbite, a complex ore of Niobium and Tantalum, is here loaded by Nigerian workers for shipment to Britain.

Future Policy

The policy of the new Colonial Secretary will no doubt be based upon the official programme of the Labour Party's Advisory Committee on Imperial Questions, which affirms that

(1) "In all Colonial territories the primary object of the administration must be the well-being, education and development of the native inhabitants and their training in every possible way so that they may be able in the shortest possible time to govern themselves. In other words, the interests of those inhabitants are and must remain paramount, and of those interests Parliament is the trustee.

(2) "The negation of this policy for which the Party stands is the policy of the Colour-Bar, the object and effect of which are to ensure by law, administration, and every other available means, that the native inhabitant is given a different and subordinate status, civil and social, from that of the European. It is in Africa that the Colour Bar as a 'native policy' can be seen in its most undisguised form, but it does less evilly but more insidiously, affect British Colonial policy in other continents. The Labour Party is ab-

solutely opposed to the Colour Bar in every shape and form. It maintains, therefore, that in territories for which Parliament is responsible the laws and administrative practices upon which the Colour Bar rests should be abolished and Colonial administrations should see that every kind of legal or administrative discrimination (whether by disabilities or privileges) on the ground of race, colour or religion, should cease.

"It follows that in all Colonial territories in which white settlers are in a minority, Parliament must remain trustee of the native interests, and the Labour Party cannot therefore agree to any conferment of responsible government upon any territory or union of territories which would involve the delegation of its duties to a local legislative body in which the native races were in a minority. It is not prepared to see any further alienation of their lands to white settlers, to agree to any restriction upon the rights of natives to acquire lands, or to consent to any legislation which, directly or indirectly, forces natives to work for white settlers. It is opposed to compulsory labour in those territories and holds that the international convention on forced labour should be strictly adhered to. It is opposed further to the exploitation of mineral or similar resources by white settlers or companies; in its judgment they should be operated as government concerns in trusteeship for the native community.

"The Labour Party welcomes the establishment of the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund[1] and looks forward to a great extension of its scope."

This Fund was instituted by the Chamberlain Government in 1940, at the time when Malcolm Macdonald, son of the former Prime Minister, was Colonial Secretary. Since then every succeeding Tory Colonial Secretary has endorsed the principle of the Fund. Now Labour links the present with the past and guarantees continuity of Colonial policy. Commenting upon the future scope of the Colonial Development & Welfare scheme, the official policy document observes that "expenditure should be directed to the promotion of the education and health of the native inhabitants and of their economic prosperity by improving communications and developing native industries and agriculture. It notes with satisfaction the establishment of the post of Labour Adviser in the Colonial Service, but holds that the creation of an energetic Labour Department, both in the Colonial Office and in every colony, together with an adequate inspectorate, lies at the root of all reform. It asks for the active development of institutions calculated to widen and deepen the opportunity of self-government, and that every occasion should be taken to associate educated natives with every aspect of government work, central and local. While the Labour Party maintains that for a long time to come the effective control of these territories must remain under Parliament, in the hands of the Colonial Office, it must demand that the whole process of government be geared to the supreme purpose of fitting the native races to determine their own destiny.

The Labour Party statement of aims and objects represents no fundamental departure from the official declaration of policy laid down by the preceding Tory Government of Churchill and enunciated from time to time by Colonel Stanley in the House of Commons. It merely serves to emphasize our contention that on matters of Imperial questions very little divides so-called British Socialism from British Tory democracy.

Shinwell's Speech

In this connection it is well to recall a speech made by Mr. Emanuel Shinwell, the $25,000 a year Labour Minister of Fuel and Power, in which he assured Churchill that should Labour come to power it would defend the Empire as ardently as the Tories. "I have occasionally found myself in disagreement with my right Hon. friend the Prime Minister," declared the ex-tailor Shinwell, "but I am in hearty accord with the view he (Churchill) expressed some time ago on the suggested liquidation of the Empire. Sir, we (Socialists) have no intention, any one of us, of throwing the British Commonwealth of Nations overboard to satisfy a section of the American Press, or indeed anyone else."

This assurance that the Labour Party, notwithstanding its high sounding declarations of "native self-government," was as deeply wedded to the maintenance of the British imperial system as the supporters of Churchill brought forth thunderous cheers from the Tory parliamentary benches.

Even such men as Creech Jones who, until his appointment to high office, was one of the chief critics of British Colonial misrule, feel that "this country has an Empire" it cannot shed, although he assumes that "it is our responsibility." As Labour's leading authority on the Colonies, Mr. Jones, writing on "British Imperialism and the Colonial Empire," in *Left News* (April, 1944), enquires whether the colonial territories are moving to political and economic freedom." He tells us that there are vested interests which must be removed, then demands: "But how is it to be done?" That, of course, is the question which all Colonials, anxious to liberate their countries from the stranglehold of 'the city' [Britain's Wall Street], always postulate. How is it to be done? How are British vested interests to be removed from Africa and the Colonies? Nowhere does Labour suggest a solution. Wedded to the maintenance of Empire, Mr. Jones and his chief, Mr. Hall, can envisage only one future for the coloured races—extension of social reforms within the existing imperialistic set-up by way of amelioration of some of the terrible economic and social conditions now prevailing in the Colonies. What is the basis of this identity of interests between Labourites and Tories when it comes to imperial questions affecting the right of self-determination for the dark-skinned inhabitants of the British Empire?

The answer is to be found in the historical development of British trade unionism in relation to the rise and expansion of British Imperialism in Asia and Africa during the latter part of the 19th century. Only in this socio-political context can the tie-up between the British workers and their capitalist class on the basis of the Colonial Empire be understood. It was that greatest of Empire-builders, Cecil Rhodes, who once advised the British oligarchy that "if you do not want civil war, you must become imperialists." The Empire, Rhodes declared, "is a question of the stomach." Acting on this premise, he carved out an empire for himself in Southern Africa, which today stands as a monument to his enterprise—Northern and Southern Rhodesia.

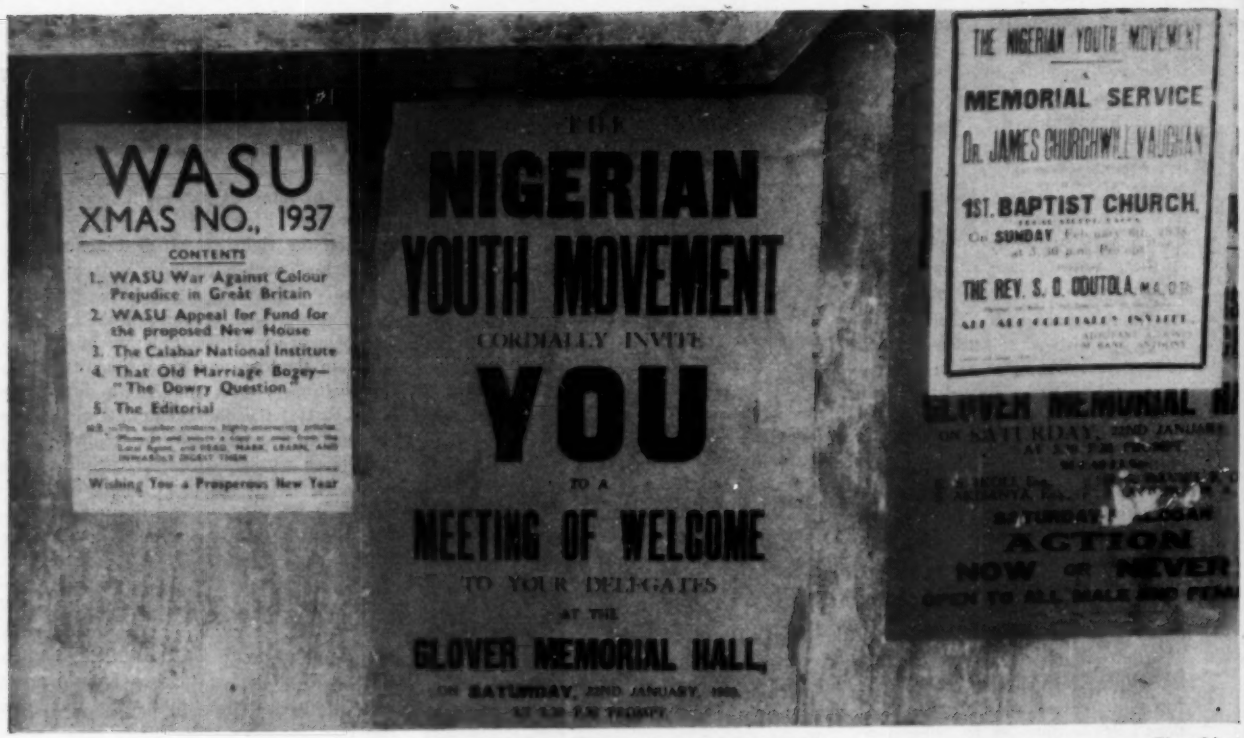
As Colonial Imperialism developed, the ideology of the White Man's Burden, made popular by writers like Kipling, permeated the British Labour movement which, unlike the European workers' movements, was never Marxist. And as the spoils of empire began to pour into England, ever larger sections of the trade union movement shared the benefits in the form of social reforms. The most influential top-flight leaders became so closely tied up with monopoly-capitalism that as time went on it became relatively easy for the ruling class to corrupt the entire movement by throwing the workers a few pennies from the tremendous profits derived from the ruthless exploitation of the Africans, Asiatics and other coloured slaves of the Empire. This economic-cum-ideological united front between white workers and white capitalists at the expense of coloured labour constitutes the historic basis of Reformism in the British Labour Party, which is dominated not by the intellectuals like Laski and Cripps, but by the trade union bosses, like Bevin and Citrine.

The influences which brought about the transformation from 19th century Chartist militancy to 20th Century Labour reformism are the result of the "inevitability of gradualness." It would be wrong to think that Labour's "sell-out" is a sudden affair. The process has been a gradual one; the logical corollary of the historical development of the British Labour movement in its imperialistic environment.

Ideology of British Workers

As early as 1882, Engels, the co-worker of Karl Marx, and himself a manufacturer in Manchester—the home of the Industrial Revolution—commented on the demoralising in-

[1] The Parliamentary Act which governs the Fund provides the sum of $600,000,000 to be spent on improving education, public health, and other forms of social services for 60,000,000 natives. It works out at an average of about $1 per head of the Colonial population!



Three Lions

Today Africans are alert to the problems and issues which confront them. Posters posted on a wall announcing meetings and services. Notice the WASU and Youth Movement posters.

fluence of imperialist ideology on the British trade union movement. In a letter to the great German sociologist, Karl Kautsky, Engels wrote: "You ask me what the English workers think of Colonial policy? Exactly the same as they think about politics in general, the same as what the bourgeoisie think. There is no working class party here, there are only Conservatives and Liberal-Radicals, *and the workers merrily devour with them the fruits of the British colonial monopoly and of the British monopoly of the world market.*" While to Marx he wrote even earlier (1858): "The British working-class is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so that this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat as well as a bourgeoisie. Of course, this is to a certain extent justifiable for a nation which is exploiting the whole world."

This prophecy of Engels has been fulfilled to the letter. For although the workers have broken away from the Liberal-Radicals and have created their own political organisation —the Labour Party—it has failed to emancipate them from the fetters of capitalism. And thanks to the narrow "bread and butter" outlook of the trade unionists, who finance and dominate the party, it reflects the outlook of a bourgeois proletariat and middle-class careerists with ambitions to sit in Parliament. This bourgeois approach to politics is manifested in matters of foreign policy and imperial colonial problems, especially India. In these spheres of government the trade union leaders and caucus bosses have no definite programme of their own to set against that of the Tories and they hopelessly pursue a "continuity of Tory policy," in face of all Professor Laski's bleatings.

It is true that there are thousands of genuine Marxist Socialists, especially the younger men and women, within the Labour Party, who look upon it as an instrument for bringing about a Social Revolution, but the trade union leaders certainly have no such illusions. They have never been really converted to the Socialist objective as expounded by Marx. At best they are Fabian New Dealers.

Their aim has been to wring concessions from the capitalist class, and they have progressively come to the point of view that if the owning classes are to be in a position to accede to their economic demands, then the capitalist system must be maintained, and where necessary, certain industries taken over by the State and reorganised after compensating their owners.

The British Colonial and Indian Empires are regarded as a world-wide trading concern owned by the imperialists and operated primarily in the interests of the capitalist class. But since the reforms—regular employment at high wages, good housing, social amenities, and other schemes outlined in Sir William Beveridge's report—desired by the white workers derive from the spoils of Empire, the trade union leaders have—whatever their original contentions might have been—been forced into the role of junior partners in the Imperial concern of John Bull Unlimited! They conclude, and rightly so, that a capitalist Britain without an Empire will be unable to provide the high standard of life which the workers now enjoy. The only alternative is for them to challenge openly the fundamental basis of the present capitalist-imperialistic system. This they are not prepared to do. Therefore, to expect the Labour Party to grant self-determination to India and the Colonies is to court disappointment.

Colonial peoples who have experienced the rule of two Labour Governments certainly have no illusions. While they expect more sympathy from a Labour Government than from a Tory administration, especially in the light of Labour's Colonial programme, they know that, whatever political and economic concessions they may receive at the hands of the Colonial Secretary, these will be the results of their own struggles.

Notice to All Crisis Subscribers and Advertisers

After October 17 *The Crisis* and the NAACP will be located at their new headquarters in the Wendell Willkie Memorial Building—

20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Along the N. A. A. C. P. Battlefront

CAMPAIGN WORKERS GROUP *of the Kansas City, Mo., 1945, membership campaign. Officers are Carl R. Johnson, branch president; Mrs. Clara T. Miller, general chairman; and David Phelps, co-chairman.*

DEMOCRATS TO BE JUDGED BY FEPC ACTION: Colored people will judge the Democratic party not by the statements of one or two leaders but by what the party is actually able to deliver in the way of FEPC legislation and other bills affecting their interests. This was the message in August to majority leader Barkley in the Senate from the NAACP.

Senator Barkley wrote the Association protesting against a statement that the filibuster against FEPC was "being generally interpreted among colored people as the official attitude of the Democratic party."

The Association reply acknowledged Senator Barkley's personal attitude favoring FEPC and praised President Truman for his attitude, but stated that the colored people over the nation are saying that the election of a Democratic president means "handing the government over to the Bilbos, the Eastlands, and the most prejudiced section of the Democratic party."

NEGRO-WORKERS NEED FULL JOB BILL: Walter White, testifying before the Senate Banking and Currency committee on August 29, urged passage of the full employment bill. Negro workers need the bill because their employment was largely in emergency war time plants and in temporary civil service jobs, the ones which will suffer the most severe cutbacks with the coming reconversion.

Mr. White pointed out that widespread employment and suffering would speed the organization and influence of organizations like the Ku Kiux Klan. He also urged the enactment of the bill for a permanent FEPC, the national housing bill, S. 1342, the Kilgore unemployment compensation bill, the Pepper amendment to the Wage-Hour act, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell social security bill, and a federal anti-lynching law.

SEEK SOLDIER'S RELEASE: A petition for a writ of habeas corpus seeking the release of corporal Jake Sullivan, attached to the Walterboro, S. C., Army Air Field, will be prepared by NAACP attorneys.

Corporal Sullivan was arrested June 10, 1945, after an altercation in a taxicab leaving the Walterboro Field for town. City authorities refused to turn him over to the military, presented his case to the grand jury the next morning, and tried him the next afternoon at 2:00 p.m., without allowing him either a civilian or military attorney for his defense.

As the story goes, in the cab, which had a colored driver, were two white soldiers and two white girls in the rear seat. After the cab left the gate of the field some remarks were passed. A fight started and one of the white soldiers was knocked "cold." From here on the story is a confused one of the cab returning to the gate, reporting the incident to an M.P. on duty, and then starting out to try to find the passing automobile which had picked up the knocked-out soldier. This hunt finally involved a third car. The woman driver of it called in special policemen and city policemen, with the result that Corporal Sullivan was arrested.

The city police claim Sullivan (who was an amateur boxer in civilian life) slugged one of the policemen with a hard right to the jaw and was in turn beaten with a blackjack, or vice versa.

An investigator from the air field was told Sullivan would not be turned over to military authorities, but was not told that Sullivan would be called to trial the same day. Military authorities did not learn of Sullivan's trial until four hours after it occurred.

Sullivan was convicted on charges of resisting an officer and of "highly aggravating assault" and sentenced to two years at hard labor, beginning his sentence June 13 in the State Penitentiary at Columbia.

Investigation of the case has resulted in the following findings, among others: That the background of Cpl. Jake Sullivan is such that he could not have the ability or knowledge to sufficiently represent himself at his trial; that he was tried in the court of law for a misdemeanor and a felony without being represented by any counsel; that he suffered a substantial injury to his rights by not having had the opportunity to procure the advice of counsel or to prepare his defense; that his indictment and trial were unfair and prejudicial; and that the military authorities were not given a reasonable opportunity to request, through proper channels, the return of Cpl. Jake Sullivan to military control.

JOBS SPOTTY: A preliminary check on the employment situation one week after V-J Day revealed a spotty picture, but one with thousands of colored workers out of jobs.

On the West Coast the greatest number of Negroes had been laid off in the Richmond yards of the Kaiser Company and few of those discharged from ship construction were being reemployed on ship repair because the AFL unions on ship repair jobs claim the Negroes lack the required skills.

The report from Philadelphia was that two well-known firms, Bayuk Cigar Company (Phillie) and Sears Roebuck have been requesting "white only" employees of the United States Employment Service. Bayuk asked for 1,000 women and Sears Roebuck for 250, all white. Also from Philadelphia comes the report that many firms are requesting through the Veterans Administration "white only" or "white gentile only."

In Houston, Texas, the picture is not so dark. Many firms have not discharged any workers and some have transferred workers, white and Negro, to other plants on peace time production.

Chicago reported no trends discernible during the first week after V-J Day, but that Negroes were being laid off according to seniority, and not on a discriminatory basis.

In Portland, Oregon, Kansas City, Mis-

souri, and Cleveland, Ohio, reports are that thousands of colored workers are being let out of their war jobs with only a minimum of them finding reemployment in other occupations.

SOLDIER UNITS SEND FUNDS TO NAACP: A total of $3,905 was received by the NAACP in August from units of servicemen overseas for memberships and contributions.

From the 4032nd Q.M. Truck Company came $500 with the following:

"Realizing the vital accomplishments and victories the NAACP is winning for us all on the home front, an idea was conceived by S/Sgt. James West of St. Louis, Mo.; Sgt. Alvin V. Berry and Cpl. John E. Rogers, both of Kansas City, wherein members of this organization could aid to help further the work being done by the Association. As a result of this idea, the enclosed $500 was voluntarily contributed by the enlisted personnel of this organization."

The 886th Port Company sent $588 as a result of a campaign directed by Corporals Herbert A. Duncan, James S. Leonard, and C. H. Heartsfield.

One hundred dollars was sent by the 4136th Q.M. Service Company which wrote: "We are seriously hoping that the Negro will gain something of value from this war and we are willing to do whatever we can to help that cause." Privates First Class Donald A. Elicott, Samuel E. Graham and Lonnie C. Cooper conducted the campaign.

A total of $1,106 came from the 377th Engineer General Service Regiment through Captain Melvin G. Swann, regimental chaplain.

A total of $1,681.50 was sent to the NAACP by Pfc. Kermit E. Augustine of the Headquarter Det., 366th Port Bn., TC. This sum represented memberships from the following units: USS General Weigel (Coast Guard), 3719 QM Truck Company, 3693 QM Co., 3735 QM Truck Co., 3720 QM Truck Co., 3774 QM Truck Co., 3499 QM Truck Co., 3680 QM Truck Co., 4334 QM Service Co., and the following Port Companies: 646, 640, 631, 574, 625, 594, 624, 626, 602, 630, and the 366th Port Bn.

The steering committee in charge of the membership campaign consisted of Kermit E. Augustine, Kendrick Boyd, Oscar D. Hogan, Herman V. Brooks, Hugo Ford, Harold Woody, Arthur Sneed and Oswen A. Fraser —all of New York; David J. Whitfield, Maryland; Albert N. Wardlaw, Georgia; Frederick Nottingham, Virginia; Otis D. Goodwin, Arkansas; W. F. Hatcher, New Jersey; Elroy Perkins and Joseph Harvey, Ohio; George Sterling, Texas; Nelson Harrison, Michigan; William F. Lewis, Connecticut; J. C. Morton, Pennsylvania; Alonzo Cobette and Louis A. Vernon, Louisville; and Wilfort Foster, California.

TAKES $1,000 POLICY IN FAVOR OF NAACP: A. T. Spaulding, assistant secretary-actuary of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, Durham, N. C., has taken out a whole life policy in the amount of $1,000, with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as beneficiary.

BRANCH WORKER *and efficient postal employee, John M. Brown, superintendent of post office D, Philadelphia, Pa., recently appointed to job-instruction training by Postmaster Joseph F. Gallager.*

Mr. Spaulding will pay the premium and the entire proceeds of the policy will go to the NAACP upon his death.

In his letter to the NAACP announcing the gift, Mr. Spaulding wrote:

"I regret that I cannot do more at this time, for by focusing the attention of America on some of its faults and shortcomings—which might otherwise be overlooked—the NAACP keeps the nation mindful of its obligations and duties to minority groups, and endorses acts of fair play in the field of human relationships. If your friend is one who will see your faults and tell *you*, rather than *someone else*, then the NAACP is a friend of democracy and an asset to our nation, for it constantly calls attention to the injustices in our society and procedures which tend to undermine the foundations of a healthy morale, and to militate against the principles of true democracy."

LOUISIANA REGISTRATION CASE ARGUED: A motion to dismiss the suit brought by Edward Hall against the registrar of St. John the Baptist Parish for denying him the right to register in the 1944 election was argued here September 12 in the United States District court for the Eastern District of Louisiana.

BRANCH WORKER *Miss Thelma V. Seals (left), treasurer of Keokuk, Iowa, branch; and Mrs. M. S. Myers, past president and secretary of the branch.*

Hall, a colored citizen of the state, charges that T. J. Nagel, parish registrar, subjected him to "unreasonable tests not required of white electors" when he sought to register in August, 1944. He is being represented by NAACP attorneys, Thurgood Marshall of New York, and J. A. Thornton and A. P. Tureaud of this city.

Hall's complaint, filed July 24, alleges that when he came in to register, Nagel took him in a back room to the office and the following conversation took place:

"What judicial district do you live in?"

Answer: "Twenty-fourth."

"What congressional district?"

Answer: "Second."

"What senatorial district?

Answer: "I don't know."

Hall charges that Nagel thereupon refused to register him, and points out that the registration law provides that "said applicant shall be able to read any clause in this Constitution, or the Constitution of the United States, and give a reasonable interpretation thereof." He avers that he was ready, willing and able to satisfy this requirement, and that Nagel's action was "arbitrary and capricious and not warranted by law."

Hall also charges that white people who presented themselves for registration were not required to answer such questions.

The NAACP lawyers opposed on September 12 the motion of the plaintiff to dismiss the suit. This is one of a number of cases brought in several southern states by the NAACP challenging both registration procedures and the denial of the vote under the so-called white primary laws which the United States Supreme Court declared unconstitutional in an opinion rendered in a Texas case on April 3, 1944.

NEGRO WORKERS SUPPORT NISEI MACHINIST: Negro workers in the Municipal Railway System in San Francisco, Calif., stood squarely behind a Japanese-American machinits who filled civil service requirements and was assigned to repair work on buses. White machinists at first threatened to quit work, but later voted to stay on the job.

Negro workers, who have been employed in large numbers on buses, trolleys, and cable cars in San Francisco during the war years, promptly mobilized in support of the Nisei's right to work. They were assisted by Noah W. Griffin, in charge of the West Coast Regional office of the NAACP, and by Joseph James, president of the San Francisco branch. Also active were the Mayor's Council for Civic Unity and the Japanese American Citizens League.

The machinist, Takeo Miyana, is an American-born Japanese who returned to the Coast from one of the relocation centers. The final excuse of the white machinists was that

they wanted the jobs held for "San Francisco veterans regardless of race, color, or creed, including Japanese-Americans."

The position of the Negro workers was that if a movement to deny employment to minority groups goes unchallenged, it will not be many weeks before the right of Negres to employment on the Municipal Railway system will also be challenged.

SOLDIERS SEND $140 TO NAACP: Sgt. William Roy of the 208th Ordance Ammunition company overseas has sent $140 in memberships to the NAACP.

Branch News

INDIANA: At the July meeting of the Kokomo branch theme of the program was "How to Build a New World," presented in the form of a round-table forum. Edward Ray discussed health and environment; Mrs. Hazel Dunigan, the home; and Noel Hord, Christianity and education. Further remarks were made by Ignapius Lawler, of New York City, and Hollis King. Music was furnished by a mass choir composed of the choirs of the Mt. Pisgah and Second Baptist churches, as well as the AME Choir, under the direction of Mrs. Veloica Edwards. Master of ceremonies was Lee John Jackson, chairman of the membership committee.

IOWA: The first case brought by the recently reorganized Davenport branch was one involving the Iowa civil rights statute. A jury composed of one white man and five white women in the court of Justice John Dorgan, in Davenport, after a second trial convicted Mrs. Dorothy Baxter, a white woman, operator of the Colonial Fountain, an ice cream parlor in Davenport, for "infringement of civil rights" when she refused to serve Charles Toney, president of the Davenport branch, in her place of business. Mrs. Baxter was fined ten dollars and court costs, totaling about fifty dollars, or given the alternative of going to jail. She chose to pay the fine, and has since ceased discrimination in her business on grounds of race or color. Attorney S. Joe Brown of Des Moines assisted in prosecution of the case.

OHIO: The Cincinnati branch has gone on record as opposing taxicab discrimination in that city. On July 27 Edgar D. Gilman, director of public utilities, held a hearing at city hall on charges filed by the branch complaining of the discrimination practiced by two taxicab drivers.

Mrs. Margaret Anderson had reported to the Cincinnati branch that on July 6 drivers of two taxicabs, one for the Terminal Cab Company and the other for the Checker Cab Company, had refused to give her and two of her lady friends service from the Union Bus Terminal in Cincinnati.

Mr. Gilman imposed a suspension of fifteen days on the driver of the Checker cab, Bourne, for refusing service to Negro passengers, and reprimanded the Terminal-cab driver for eating while on duty, which is the reason he gave for not accepting the passengers.

In a letter to Governor Frank J. Lausche of Ohio, the branch through its president, Theodore M. Berry, has asked that a qualified Negro citizen be appointed as a member of the slum clearance committee, authorized during the recent session of the legislature.

Executive committee of the branch has taken steps to establish permanent headquarters. The new office has been set up in the Supreme Liberty Insurance Building, 612 West Ninth Street. Mrs. Marietta M. Cordell has been employed as temporary clerk-stenographer, with Nathan Wright as acting executive secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA: The GI Cab Group, which is fighting to obtain a franchise for operation of a taxi service in Philadelphia, has received a pledge of full support from the Philadelphia branch. Yet there have been newspaper reports that no Negro veteran has been admitted to membership. As a result of these reports, the branch addressed a letter of inquiry to John Salerno asking that he state the position of his group on the admittance of colored veterans to the GI Taxicab Association. It is understood that many Negro veterans who made application for membership were turned down on the grounds that the "quota for your group was filled." It was also called to the attention of the branch that some white veterans whose applications were filed with the Office of Defense Transportation prior to filing with the Public Utilities Commission were admitted to membership in the GI taxicab group after colored veterans were rejected.

The branch, in an open letter, also asked Mayor Bernard Samuel to state publicly his position on the establishment of a GI cab company in Philadelphia, which will admit

OFFICERS AND CAMPAIGN WORKERS *of the Bridgeport-Stratford, Conn., branch at the end of a successful membership campaign.*

Powell Photo

SOME OF THOSE *who attended Iowa State NAACP convention at Cedar Rapids, Iowa: (L. to R.), Rev. Bell, Rev. Parks, Mrs. J. Reed, S. J. Brown, Mrs. V. Gibson, Mrs. Atkinson, Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Father Little, and Mrs. G. Morris.*

veterans regardless of race, color, or religion.

Mrs. Rebecca Hare has been rehired as an electric welder at the Philadelphia Navy Yard. Mrs. Hare charged that she had been forced to "resign" in order to get time off to attend her mother's funeral during June. At the time, Mrs. Hare was assured she would be "reinstated" on her return to work. However, when she did report back to work, she was denied employment until the branch intervened in her behalf following filing of a complaint in the local office.

Walter C. Beckett, prominent mortician of Germantown and a veteran of World War I as well as an active member of the American Legion, has been appointed chairman of the servicemen and veteran's committee of the Philadelphia branch.

The branch has urged Mayor Bernard Samuel to appoint a mixed staff to service the city-owned and operated recreation center and swimming pool at 50th Street and Kingsessing Avenue. The center is one of the best equipped in the city and although located only several blocks from a large settlement of colored residents, its facilities are seldom used by them.

According to reports filed with the branch, various techniques have been employed to bar colored residents in spite of definite pledges from Mayor Samuel and heads of both the Bureau of Recreation and the Department of Public Welfare that discrimination would not be tolerated.

In requesting a mixed staff, the branch pointed out that this center is located in one of the serious tension spots of the city and that the use of an interracial staff would give all youngsters a feeling of security and confidence, thus relieving much of the existing tension.

RHODE ISLAND: On July 29 the executive board of the New England Regional conference was the guest of the Newport branch. Six branches were represented: Boston, Springfield, New Haven, Providence, Worcester, and Newport. Also present was the president of the Boston youth council.

Highlights of the meeting were: a stirring report by Mrs. Lillian Williams, chairman of the education committee, on plans for adoption of the Springfield Plan throughout New England; formation of a committee to work towards the formation of branches in Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, as well as revitalizing dormant branches in New England. This committee is headed by George E. Gordon, chairman of the executive board. Bernard Jackson reported on the successful youth council conference held in Greenwich, Conn., June 9-10, and the plans now being made for organization of a permanent New England regional conference of youth councils.

Attorney LeCount, president, and attorney Guild are to investigate a case in Portland, Maine, referred to the board by the national office, and report upon the merits of the case in regard to action by the Association.

Book Reviews

TAKING STOCK

***What The South Americans Think Of Us:* A Symposium by Carleton Beals, Bryce Oliver, Herschel Brickell, and Samuel Guy Inman. New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1945. 400pp. $3.00.**

***Un Sudamericano En Norteamerica:* Ellos Y Nosotros (A South American in North America: We and They). Por Luis Alberto Sánchez. Prologo de Waldo Frank. Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Ercilla, 1942. 398pp. $1.50.**

We tailored the good-neighbor policy to fit our wartime needs, and though we courted and flattered South America for a variety of reasons—our investments there, our need for "strategic raw materials," our exposed southern frontier—our principal motive was hemispheric defense. We propagandized *los sudamericanos* with movie stars, business men, short wave broadcasts, visiting professors, *En Guardia*, lavish outlays of monies on oft worthless projects, and free trips to Washington for local caciques and other bigwigs. We did these things in the name of the good-neighbor policy. Latin-Americans did not ask for this benevolence. Yet few Americans ever stopped to think of how South Americans reacted to this sugary solicitude for their welfare.

In South America where the vast majority of the people are Indians and mestizos they had no opinions whatever about the United States or its good-neighbor policy. To most of them the United States was not even a name on a map. On the other hand, the opinion of the ruling classes, a minuscule group, has not always been flattering. Our streamlined neighborliness aroused as much skepticism and doubt among them as confidence. Frankly, Latin Americans were skeptical of our good intentions and the duration of our much advertised neighborliness.

Suppression of information, general ignorance of Spanish and Portuguese, and the two-way adulatory propaganda of the European phase of the war made it almost impossible for the average American to know what South Americans really thought of us and our good-neighbor policy.

However, a realistic appraisal of the nature and results of our good neighborliness are now offered in these two books under review. The first is a symposium by experts on Latin America; the second, a report by the well-known Peruvian scholar and writer, Dr. Alberto Sánchez. Although Sánchez's book appeared three years ago, the author's observations, criticisms, and conclusions are still pertinent.

The approach in the symposium is geographical rather than by points of view. Carleton Beals covers Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia; Bryce Oliver, Brazil and Uruguay; Herschel Brickell, Venezuela and Colombia; and Samuel Guy Inman, Argentina and Chile. Despite the diffuse nature of approach certain revelant generalizations emerge. The most persistent one can be stated in the words of Mr. Beals: "Over the years our position has been so extreme on nearly all occasions as to create among Latin Americans a vast skepticism regarding the stability, honesty and meaning of our policies." And Sánchez reminds us that "South America has never forgotten the conquering protector from the north." And adds: "The anti-imperialists of South America, with a realism and loyalty worthy to be noted, are willing to admit the sincerity and practical results of the good-neighbor policy. But we need more proof than the abrogation of the Platt amendment and the settlement of the Mexican petroleum question."

Another Latin-American worry: "The American policy of defending democracy in the United States and oligarchies in South America is a program which arouses no enthusiasm in a Latin American," remarks Sánchez. "What, then," he adds, "does a people gain by a change of policy if for one reason or another the weight of American authority is used to abet autocrats and oligarchies against the majority?"

Traditionally, of course, the United States has always backed dictators and reactionary trends in South America. Latin Americans have not forgotten our support of Machado in Cuba; Ayora in Ecuador; Leguía in Peru; Siles in Bolivia; and Washington Luis in Brazil. Foreign capital in South America has inevitably supported the cacique but English and German investments have

never labored under the disadvantage of a so-called exportable "democratic practice." Largely one-crop countries—beef and wheat in Argentina, tin in Bolivia, coffee in Brazil, etc.—whose resources are owned and exploited by foreigners the South American suffers from the parallel exploitation of foreign investments and his own "elite."

South Americans very definitely do not like our racial snobbery. "One highly placed Brazilian official, mentioning a few state governors with dark skins, told me," writes Bryce Oliver, "that American color consciousness probably was doing more harm to United States-Brazilian relations than all other social and intellectual differences combined." Here is Sánchez's reaction to our racism: "The Spaniards were notorious racists, but the democratic and modern Americans are no less so. If the Spanish viceroys despised us for being creoles, the new democratic and financial power [the United States] despised us no less for being mestizos." And, Sánchez adds, "To wage a war on racism with a racist army seems a most cruel paradox."

In additon to these basic repercussions to our good neighborliness, there are of course many local reactions varying from country to country.

Many of them are, of course, local pet peeves at American ineptness and failure. So often we made gaudy promises which we did not keep. Our investments and buying up of strategic material though it made a small crop of wartime millionaires in some of the countries did not lead to any increase in the wages of the workers in any of them. We tried to bulldoze Argentina into breaking with the Axis with no regard for her interests nor her traditional policy of neutrality. But along with our sins of omission and commission went many benefits. We gave Brazil a nascent steel industry and air fields. By buying up sugar and cotton crops in Peru we saved her producers from ruin. We trained many Latin Americans in medicine and engineering in this country. We made possible the interchange of students and professors. And we gave many of the countries a diversified economy, which they had never before enjoyed.

Geared as it was to wartime expediency, our good-neighbor policy should now be overhauled to correct our errors in policies and practices.

In Sánchez's *A South American in North America*, written after a nine-month stay in the United States, we get the firsthand reactions and observations of a highly intelligent Peruvian to the United States and the American scene. About the middle of 1941, Mr. Archibald MacLeish, then director of the Congressional Library, invited Dr. Sánchez to visit and study in this country, and in the spring of '42 he was asked by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler to serve as a Spanish-American visiting professor at Columbia. While visiting in the United States, Dr. Sánchez lectured at many of our colleges and universities and visited in eighteen of our forty-eight states. Upon his return to South America he began work upon the manuscript of the present book. He submitted the manuscript, before publication, for criticisms and corrections to a representative list of American scholars and experts, among whom were doctors Charles H. Thompson and Rayford Logan of Howard.

Dr. Sánchez divides his book into three parts: "Prejudice," a summary of all the South American misconceptions of the United States prior to the good-neighbor policy; "Experience," a synthesis of his reactions and observations during his visit; and "Perspective," a critical evaluation of accomplishments and failures, of his fears, hopes, and doubts, as well as his faith in the success of a genuine cooperation between the Americas.

His first picture of the United States was of a drunken American sailor carousing through the streets of Lima breaking mirrors in the cantinas, upsetting fruit carts, and spewing gallantries into the ears of the creole girls. In 1908 America was the sailors of Admiral Evans' fleet. Later he saw us mirrored in the Caliban-Ariel conception of the Uruguayan essayist, José Enrique Rodó. America was Caliban, soulless and materialistic; South America, Ariel and therefore spiritual. Then came the period of frequent American intervention in the affairs of the

GWENDOLYN BROOKS

With these new poems of Negro life Gwendolyn Brooks has won for the second time the Poetry Workshop Award of the Midwestern Writers Conference.

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HARPER

banana republics, and the United States was transmogrified into the "colossus of the north." "A few suspicious intellectuals," says Sánchez, "even accused the YMCA of being an imperialist agency." Finally Hollywood began dishing up a caricature of the States as a country of gangsters, flappers, platinum blonds, fighting cowboys, drunks, and pistol-toters. So the United States, the Puritan republic, became the symbol for a licentious land of multiple divorces, hot kisses, and unscrupulous business men.

Culturally, America hardly existed. "English as a cultural language did not exist for us. Bankers, financiers, and a few high-ranking commercial employes used it; but the intellectuals—never." It was Waldo Frank who later revealed the rich cultural resources of America.

His experiences in the United States helped Sánchez to correct his early misconceptions. He discovered that America was both Ariel and Caliban. That there were other Americans and other ideals besides those of her investment bankers, interventionists, and drunken sailors. He learned about the landscape and the language, the peoples, the rivers, the schools, our citizens, Wall Street and empire, and as well as the problem of our minorities, especially the Negro.

He devotes two chapters to the Negro, one, chapter four, to the artistic influence of the Negro on South American opinion; and the other, chapter VII, "The Negroes," to a critical discussion of the Negro, his problems, and his treatment. Like most South Americans, Sánchez is annoyed, distressed, and often resentful of American race snobbery.

"Accustomed to living with the Negro and knowing him in Maceo as the hero-liberator of Cuba; as a veteran fighter, from the Rio de la Plata to the plains of Venezuela, in our struggle for independence; as a legendary hero in Argentine literature in Sergeant Falucho; as a poet of inimitable rhythm in the Cuban martyr 'Plácido' and that cheerful mulatto, Rubén Darío; the Negro has never been and never will be solely a decorative motif for South Americans, but rather a companion and a brother."

In another passage he writes:

> In our efforts at emancipation, Negroes attained admirable excellence and therefore around them already poetry has woven its unforgettable halo; as in the case of Sergeant Falucho, of the Argentine poetic tradition of Obligado. Within the liberating armies of San Martin were battalions of Negroes and their conduct has been unqualifiedly praised by white historians. In Cuba, shoulder to shoulder with Marti, Gómez and Céspedes, fathers of the republic, stands erect the untiring Negro general, Antonio Maceo, companion and friend of Martí and the 'chino' Gómez. Famous mulattoes move through our history without a single one being ashamed of his origin, which, on the contrary, serves to place him on a pedestal, when, for example, the commentaries identify the mulatto origin and genius woven into the musicianship of Rubén Darío, the unmatched Nicaraguan. Some have even maintained, but without proof, that the Liberator Bolivár had mulatto blood; that Rivadavia, the first president of Argentina, is a mulatto, which it appears he may not be able to deny although in some writers it may be only an anxiety.

Many of the author's conclusions in "Perspective," the last section of his book, have already been quoted. On American imperialism in South America he writes: "The policy of economic and military aggression, called imperialism, exists for two basic reasons: (1) Because the ruling classes in South America are unaware of its risks, and (2) because North American public opinion knows nothing about the problem." He is also wise enough to remark that American imperialism did not begin with Roosevelt I when he took Panama and did not end with Roosevelt II when he proclaimed the good-neighbor policy.

On the attitude of the South American man in the street, Juan Perez, to the recent European war, Sánchez writes:

> (1) The Indo-American peoples are enemies of Hitlerian totalitarianism because they have been educated in a love of liberty and because they have suffered at the hands of a similar totalitarianism in their own countries; (2) he is a partisan of democracy because that is a part of his tradition of independence and because he wants to enjoy a status of liberty and equality of opportunity similar to that enjoyed by the middle-class citizen of the United States; (3) nevertheless, he does not believe at all in the cause of the democracies, because the United States and England have demonstrated in their colonial and semi-colonial enterprises that they understand better how to work with those that deny liberty and equality than with those that aspire to it; (4) there are some who, though they will not say so, actually desire the triumph of Hitler because (a) it would be a new experiment; (b) because the oligarchies have distorted the meaning of democracy; (c) because democracy offers them nothing concrete; and (d) because imperialism has been largely Anglo-Saxon.

He also observes that England and the United States were racist by both tradition and practice long before Hitler was ever born.

In closing Sánchez expects a better day for all the Americas when the United States itself practices real equality within in its own borders: when Negroes and whites fight in the same battalions, sit in the same classrooms, and enjoy full equality.

JAMES W. IVY

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorneys outside their home towns. THE CRISIS maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizenship rights.

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Reconversion

(Continued from page 283)

Point two of the statement prepared and agreed to by this group carries this guarantee as an objective:

"Assure that Americans shall not be discriminated against because of race, color, political or religious creed in exercising their political and economic rights."

This is a commitment, not from a political party, not from an individual congressman or senator, but from a bi-partisan group possessing wisdom, determination and rightness on its side. It should not be too much to place faith in their sincerity, hope in their efforts—and yet keep the letters flowing in across their desks.

Reconversion won't be everlasting. We shall still have to get down to the business of peace at a stable price. That's what we fought for.

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23. Statement by Senator Harley M. Kilgore in the Supplementary Congressional Record, August 13, 1945.
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. . . READ THE CRISIS . . .

Black Streak

(Continued from page 287)

brown, would no longer hold a claim upon the Manton family. Lucia—

Running footsteps descending the stairs broke in upon Marianna's thoughts. Lucia had recovered quickly, too quickly. Marianna raised her head. The hall light was on. Lucia, hatted and coated, drawing on her gloves, flashed past.

Quickly Marianna got to her feet.

"Lucia!" she called, knocking against the side of the desk in her haste to reach the hall.

"Lucia!"

Marianna stood panting in the hall, staring at her daughter, who was turning the door knob.

"Where are you going, Lucia?"

"Out, mother! Definitely, out!"

Lucia wrenched the door open as she spoke, letting in the sharp, tangy autumn air.

"Where? Tell me!"

Marianna was at the door, grasping Lucia's hand, as it held the knob.

The girl turned her face to her mother. Dark lightnings quivered and flashed in Lucia's black eyes.

"It seems to me, mother, that a woman of your intelligence could answer that question with very little trouble."

It was but for a moment. The clashing of wills in the looks that were exchanged. In that moment a battle was fought and won. Marianna knew that never again would Lucia give unthinking obedience to her mother.

Slowly her hand dropped; slowly she turned and walked back into the living room. As she crossed the threshold, the outer door slammed decisively shut. Marianna crossed to the window. By the light of the street lamp directly in front of the gate, she watched Lucia's quickly retreating figure until it vanished from her sight.

Sighing, Marianna walked back to her desk and sat down. For a long while she slumped there, eyes closed, brows drawn in a black frown. Her fingers, thrashing about on the desk, finally touched the manuscript. Opening here eyes, Marianna drew the first sheet toward her. The speech. It wouldn't hurt to go through it again. A reading would help quiet her nerves.

Page by page she re-read the manuscript. Little by little the frown erased itself from her brows, and her lips relaxed their grim tautness. When she reached the last page, her face was clear and complacent.

"This," she murmured, "is a perfect ending. The best I've ever written."

In a half-whisper, she read the concluding paragraph aloud: "And finally, there can be no real peace, no successful realization of democracy until all people, everywhere, learn to look beneath the accidents of birth, creed and color, and find the man in God's own likeness hidden there."

"Black" Education

(Continued from page 290)

achieved in these separate schools as, here and there, a teacher infuses a student with a realization of the inequity and baseness of the dual educational system which is now throttling real democracy.

Moreover, I prophesy that, whether we like it or not, national and world events now in the making forecast the doom of all separate school.

MARIAN ANDERSON

Your voice is a thrush's call in the still of night,
Notes that remind of stars,
Each note a spiritual star of light—
What memories they bring to my window bars!
The Southland and all it means to me
Sorrow, joy, pain and slavery.
Your voice a star-point that breaks the heart
Of prejudice, keeping us apart.

CHARLES ENOCH WHEELER

Clouds

Up above in the spacious sky
Fleecy clouds go sailing by,
Passing the sun in day so bright
Drifting along with the moon at night.

Propelled by the wind again and again,
Pausing occasionally to drop the rain,
Silver lined there in the firmament
Displaying a beauty that is heaven sent.

Past Mt. Olympus and the realm of Zeus
Destination unknown, as a balloon on the loose
Zephyros goads you 'round the firmament
Your beauty revealed makes the trip well spent.

Where do you go when the sky is clear blue
When you apparently are hid from view?
You, too, deserve a well earned rest
Settled down in a fleecy nest.

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Race and Race

(*Continued from page* 284)

the two races," the whites on the one hand and the Negroes and their mulatto descendants on the other. Prejudice is not then a matter of color, but of race, identical with that which still exists toward the yellow race.

Nature of Prejudice

It is paradoxical that nature should create, with reason and right, the most serious and ungovernable cause for our social and political retardation. It does not matter that there are mutual accusations and responsibilities of wrong for both. The basic, the great social evil, is that this state of things exist, and are perpetuated with unconscious ignorance of a danger found in no other domain.

Everywhere the prejudice against the black as well as the yellow race is, and we repeat, based upon race and not color. So far as the Americans are concerned, they bring even in the manifestation of this prejudice a logical spirit of discrimination which limits its manifestation to their contacts with their own Negroes, not spreading it to groups outside their country, as is proved not only by their official and business relations, save on rare and minor occasions, but by their twenty-years occupation of our country. And when we happen to travel in the United States, we ourselves, as well as foreign Negroes and mulattoes, encounter none of this prejudice except through a temporary misunderstanding, and that was before the present happy political era of the good neighbor policy.

Haitian Rebuttal

(*Continued from page* 285)

Notice that this antagonism is "between oppression. Race has nothing to do with it, and, in the case of Negro Americans, the Harlem crime rate has no more connection with their supposedly cannibal ancestor than an international swindle has to do with a distant great-grandfather who happened to be a pirate. Nor does it represent in the slightest the condition of Negro morality in general in the United States.

In a pseudo-scientific differentiation which would make an ethnologist smile if the problem were not so serious, your article establishes a subtle distinction between race prejudice and color prejudice. This distinction enables you to claim that the foreign Negro in the United States does not suffer from color prejudice "except through a temporary misunderstanding." Which proves, after all, how your article seemingly attempts to persuade the North American racist to consider us as not-quite-dirty-niggers. The truth, unfortunately, is that the foreign Negro in the United States suffers just as much and, in certain cases, perhaps more, from color prejudice than his American congener.

Moreover, trying to season this baseless assertion in Good Neighbor Policy sauce, is really too cheap a trick that does not advance the cause of the Good Neighbor Policy in the least. For, the attempt to give Haitians an equivocal, confused, and false picture of the problem of American color prejudice, renders as little service to the cause of comprehension between the two peoples as an attempt to present our country to progressive anti-racialists and liberal white Americans as a nation where democratic liberties were rooted in a long, historical tradition, and where, for example, there were no expolitation of the peasant. Even more illogical would it be for us to think that we could escape some of the hardships of the thorny question of American color prejudice by trying to vilify the American Negro.

Nature of Prejudice

Color prejudice in the United States is a fact, a medieval, profoundly detestable fact. I speak of it advisedly, after living in the United States for five years in very close contact with the most diverse groups of the Union. Recognizing the existence of color prejudice in all its reality and ugliness in that country, hardly constitutes an attack against the dignity of a great nation which, despite all, still preserves the radiance of its admirable democratic institutions forged in a bloody colonial revolution. I know, better than anyone perhaps, that the United States is not *only* the land of lynching. It is also the land of the Council for Defense of the Rights of Man, the country of Jefferson, Lincoln, Roosevelt. But it is also, nevertheless, the land of lynch, and those who, in the United States, are against that state of affairs, and are working to eradicate that evil, do not try to minimize the problem or to find inexcusable excuses for racism. And, above all, they do not make the revolting insinuation that lynching is justified by the fact that it was supposedly "created to offset the miscarriage and slowness of justice" where the Negro criminal is concerned! Let us cite one of a hundred instances, the Scottsboro Case, as an example of slow and inefficient court action for innocent Negroes. And besides, you have probably never talked with an eyewitness to a lynching. It's extremely instructive.

To conclude, I should like to express here my feeling of deep . . . discomfiture that a newspaper in my country should so maliciously attack the American Negro. How regrettable it seems to me that a daily as important as yours should be so little aware of the grounds for solidarity between the cause of the American Negro, and that of the tradition, of the people, and of the Haitian nation!

In its deepest sense, you see, that solidarity is stripped of its sentimental, epidermal content. It is the common cause not only of race —and any black Haitian traveling in the United States can assure you of the sad reality of race—but even more, it is the common cause of the oppressed, whatever he may be, everywhere in a world pregnant with a really human future order, whether he be a Negro American, a Chinese coolie, an East Indian, a Mexican peon, or a citizen of a country with semi-colonial status.

ALBERT MANGONÈS

COMPANIONSHIP

Whenever the hours are longest,
The work most wearying,
I like to walk in the kind shade of the tall trees
Till I fall forward with fatigue against the ground
And press my heavy body into the soft, warm earth,
While hot, tired tears wet the green grass.

The pitying trees whisper consolation
And bend close to comfort me with caressing arms.
But I cannot yield to their friendliness
Until, lifting my eyes to distant hills,
I see a solitary pine silhouetted against the sky.
He stands straight and tall,
Arms raised and supple hands fingering the clouds.

Now I am not alone,
I have a close companion who, like me,
Is reaching above the earth.

—LORETTA JOHNSON

TROUBLED NIGHT

Harlem
Knows a song
Without a tune.
The rhythm's there:
But the melody
Is bare.

Harlem
Knows a night
Without a moon:
Darkness,
Stars
Nowhere.

—LANGSTON HUGHES

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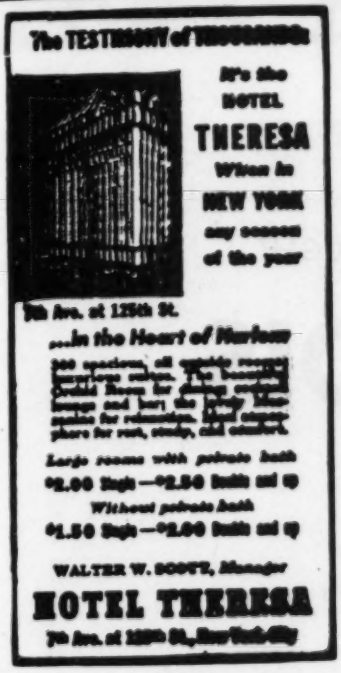

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

Of The Crisis, published monthly at New York, for October 1, 1945, State of New York, County of New York.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared James W. Ivy, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of The Crisis and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., 69 Fifth Avenue; Editor, Roy Wilkins, 69 Fifth Avenue; Managing Editor, Roy Wilkins, 69 Fifth Avenue; Business Manager, James W. Ivy, 69 Fifth Avenue.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not ownd by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) The Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., 69 Fifth Avenue; Dr. Louis T. Wright, President; Mrs. E. R. Alexander, Treasurer, 69 Fifth Avenue. All stock owned by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholders or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is. (This information is required from daily publications only.)

JAMES W. IVY,
Business Manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 11th day of September, 1945.

(SEAL) SAMUEL SCHNEIDER.
(My commission expires March 30, 1946.)

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